Stanley
Park

ARCHAEOLOGIA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY

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PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON

VOLUME LXXI

PRINTED AT OXFORD

BY FREDERICK HALL FOR

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

AND SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON

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W. G. Collingwood

HARDKNOT CASTLE AND THE SCAFELL RANGE

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1922

I.—*Hardknot Castle and the Tenth Antonine Itinerary.*

By R. G. Collingwood, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 27th January 1921.

The Tenth Iter[1] in the British section of the Antonine road-book has been for many years—indeed for centuries—a standing puzzle in Romano-British history. Of its nine stations the seventh, Mancunium, has always been recognized as Manchester; but the others are not so easily identifiable. The first, third, and fifth reappear in the *Notitia Dignitatum* towards the end of the section headed *item per lineam valli*; but it has long been admitted by every one that they are not therefore necessarily to be sought on Hadrian's Wall itself. Camden, on the strength of an inscription found by Reginald Bainbrigg at Whitley Castle near Alston, identified that fort with Alone, the third station of the Iter; and Horsley, accepting this identification, made the Iter begin at Lanchester and traverse a series of stations lying behind Hadrian's Wall and acting as supports to it, before turning south by way of the Eden and Lune valleys to Manchester. That was a good solution, and indeed the best possible solution, granted the correctness of the equation Alone = Whitley Castle; but it necessitated the complete rejection of the mileages as given in the Iter, since the hundred statute miles from Whitley to Manchester are represented by 83 Roman miles or about 76 statute miles between Alone and Mancunium. Moreover, Camden's identification was unsound. The *Notitia* places the Third Cohort of Nervii at Alone (spelt in that document Alione) and Bainbrigg's inscription mentioned the Second Cohort. Camden arbitrarily altered the numeral in order to effect the identification.[2]

Horsley's reading of the Iter thus falls to the ground; indeed, his treatment of the mileages was so high-handed that even before Camden's falsification of the Whitley inscription had been detected (in 1911) there had arisen a general feeling of dissatisfaction with Horsley's solution of the problem. The result was

[1] For the reader's convenience I repeat the names and Roman mileages. Clanoventa–18–Galava–12–Alone–19–Calacum–27–Bremetonacum–20–Coccium–17–Mancunium–18–Condate–19–Mediolanum.

[2] *Cumb. and West. Trans.* N.S. xi, p. 359; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 566. The inscription is *C. I. L.* vii, 310.

a crop of fresh solutions, differing from Horsley chiefly for the worse. Horsley himself having set the example of maltreating the Itinerary mileages, others felt themselves at liberty to do the same without the same motive; and the imaginative re-identification of the Tenth Iter became a recognized form of sport among local antiquaries.

The results achieved up to thirty years ago were tabulated by Chancellor Ferguson in his *History of Cumberland* (pp. 51–2). The sight of a dozen incompatible solutions, printed side by side without comment, may have been intended as an ironical warning to any one who might be tempted to increase their number; and this is the effect which it seems to have produced, for English antiquaries began to see that the sport in question had its dangers, and to resist its attractions. For this reason it is unnecessary to rescue from their oblivion the solutions which Chancellor Ferguson pilloried; but it may be desirable to mention one of these purely imaginative solutions, because it has appeared within the last few years in a work which on the face of it seems to carry a good deal of authority and is likely to mislead.

Professor Konrad Miller's *Itineraria Romana* is a folio of 1,000 pages dealing with the entire road-system of the Roman Empire, and published at Stuttgart in 1916. The Tenth Iter is in this work identified as follows. From Manchester (the eighth and ninth stations do not concern us here) it is made to proceed to Coccium at Ribchester (28 Roman miles as against the Itinerary distance of 18), and thence to Bremetonacum at Lancaster (24 Roman miles, Itinerary 20 miles). The *Notitia Dignitatum* places at Bremetonacum a *cuneus armaturarum*, and this is often taken to be a corruption of *cuneus Sarmatarum*, because from *C. I. L.* vii, 218 and 230, we know Ribchester to have been garrisoned by Sarmatian cavalry. But Professor Miller, ignoring both this and the further fact that Lancaster was garrisoned by the Gaulish Ala Sebosiana or Sebussiana (*C. I. L.* vii, 287; tile, *C. I. L.* vii, p. 70) ascribes the Sarmatian garrison to Lancaster on no evidence whatever (since if Bremetonacum is not Ribchester there is no reason for emending *armaturarum* to *Sarmatarum*) and clean against the very good lapidary evidence both at Ribchester and at Lancaster.

The next stage of Professor Miller's itinerary is to Calacum, which he places at 'Hawkshead am Windermere-See, mit römischen Altertümern', from which, he says, come certain inscriptions (*C. I. L.* vii, 291, 292). Now there is a fort on the shore of Windermere, at Ambleside, otherwise known as Waterhead; this is about 32 miles (Roman) from Lancaster as against 27 in the Iter. There is also a village called Hawkshead, five miles away and well off the lake, with no Roman remains or even roads near it; but a Roman coin was once found there, and is recorded by Mr. H. Swainson Cowper, F.S.A., in his 'Archaeological Survey of Lancashire north of the Sands', published by this Society (*Archaeologia*,

Fig. 1. Map to illustrate the Tenth Iter.

liii, p. 535). Further, there is a Roman fort (described in *Cumb. and West. Trans.* N.S. viii, pp. 102–8) at Watercrook near Kendal, twelve miles away in another direction, to which Hübner explicitly and correctly ascribed the two inscriptions placed by Miller at Hawkshead. It thus appears that, confused by the similarity of name, Professor Miller has identified Watercrook, Waterhead, and Hawkshead, has called them collectively by the name of the least important, and has moved this site five miles to the shores of Windermere. After this, it is surprising to observe that they are all three entered separately and correctly on his own map.

So far Professor Miller has confined himself to real forts and real or at least highly probable roads. He now abandons the last restraints of fact and takes his next stage (15 Roman miles, Itinerary 19 miles) over Dunmail Raise to Keswick. Between the shore of Windermere and Keswick there is no Roman road, and no responsible person has ever claimed to have identified one; but there is certainly an old traffic-line which Chancellor Ferguson rather rashly marked in his Archaeological Survey of Cumberland and Westmorland,[1] together with a great number of others, as a line that might possibly have been Roman. At Keswick there is no vestige of a Roman site of any kind, though a scrap or two of Romano-British pottery and glass has been found. Another wholly imaginary road (13 miles, Itinerary 12) takes Professor Miller to Papcastle, a real Roman fort called Aballaba (*Notitia*), Aballava (*C.I.L.* vii, 415), or Avalana (Ravennas), which he is compelled to identify with Galava. On the strength of the Ravennas spelling it would perhaps have been easier to identify it with Alone, especially as the Ravennas has a variant Alauna which Miller in point of fact accepts; but that name has been bestowed on the non-existent fort at Keswick, and there is nothing for it but to assume that Galava and Aballaba are variant spellings of one and the same name. Hence a final stage (25 miles, Itinerary 18 miles) leads to Bowness-on-Solway, the terminal station of Hadrian's Wall, which must therefore be Clanoventa. Part of the road is imaginary, but evidence for it is found in a mistake of Hübner, who

[1] The groundwork of Professor Miller's theory seems to be derived from this Survey, ignoring all later work on the subject. In its first form in 1883 (*Cumb. and West. Trans.* O.S. iii, pp. 69 *sqq.*) that work took the Tenth Iter by Ambleside and Keswick to end at Old Carlisle; at that date it was still possible to put forward such a view in spite of the admitted absence of remains of any kind between Ambleside and Papcastle, and even then critics were not wanting who pointed out the entire baselessness of the identification. In its later form in 1889 (*Archaeologia*, vol. liii) it entered the road by Keswick as merely 'probable', and the identification of this road with the Tenth Iter was tacitly withdrawn. Most of the 'probable' roads in the 1889 map are either baseless conjecture or based on misinterpreted evidence; indeed, the reference given for the Roman road to Keswick (s.v. Grasmere) is to an article by C. Nicholson pointing out quite correctly that reasons for believing in such a road were wholly wanting. The plea that Professor Miller relied for his facts on Chancellor Ferguson is therefore inadmissible.

transferred to this part of Cumberland the milestone found at Hangingshaw near Appleby (*C.I.L.* vii, 1179; *Cumb. and West. Trans.* N.S. xvi, p. 132).

The year before this latest and most irresponsible of the imaginative solutions was published, a paper had appeared entitled 'The Romano-British Names of Ravenglass and Borrans (Muncaster and Ambleside)' in the *Archaeological Journal* (1915, vol. lxxii), in which the late Professor Haverfield argued that Clanoventa, Galava, and Alone were Ravenglass, Ambleside, and Watercrook near Kendal. The distances (18 miles from Ravenglass to Ambleside, 12 thence to Watercrook) are precisely those of the Itinerary. From Kendal to Ribchester, whether by Lancaster or by Overborough, is about 40 miles, which is too short to correspond with the 46 miles from Alone to Bremetonacum, and Haverfield suggested that Calacum, the fourth station, was Lancaster and that the roads, which are hereabouts not accurately known, were rather circuitous. He selected Lancaster because the road by way of that fort would be a mile or two longer than that by Overborough. But even so the distances do not really come right, and if the theory is to be satisfactorily worked out it seems necessary either to emend the XIX between Alone and Calacum to XI, placing Calacum at Overborough, or to emend the XXVII between Calacum and Bremetonacum to XXII, in which case Calacum will be Lancaster. Either emendation would satisfy the requirements and bring the distances of the Iter to within a quite reasonable margin of error.

Setting aside the problem of the fourth station, however, the identification of the first three was convincing. Ravenglass, with its magnificent harbour, a land-locked lagoon formed by the confluence of three rivers in a single estuary, makes a good terminus for a route; and the evidence from the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the Ravenna Cosmography goes to confirm its identification with Clanoventa. The reason why no one had previously hit on this solution of the problem was very simple. Midway between Ravenglass and Ambleside is the fort locally known as Hardknot Castle, perched 800 feet above the sea on a spur of Hardknot mountain, a precipice flanking it on one side and an impassable ravine on the other, commanding the whole of Eskdale and blocking the pass by which the road runs inland to Ambleside. It lies in the middle of the finest mountain scenery in England, protected by its position from stone-robbing and from the plough, and in a place much visited by many kinds of tourists; moreover, it was brought into public notice by being dug in the years 1889–93 (*Cumb. and West. Trans.* O.S. xii). Thus Hardknot is an exceptionally well-known site, and any one who felt inclined to identify the Ambleside-Ravenglass road with the Tenth Iter would naturally make it his first object to find a name for Hardknot. But this the mileages of the Itinerary do not permit.

The originality of Haverfield's identification lay in the fact that he ignored

Hardknot. The paper in which he expounded his view did not even mention its name. Now this was the obvious weak point of the theory. Every reader of the paper would at once raise the question, what about Hardknot, and why is it omitted from the Itinerary? It is true that other Itineraries pass over sites. Iters II and V traverse the same road between Carlisle and Brough-under-Stainmore, but of the three intervening forts Iter II omits Brougham, while Iter V omits the other two, Kirkby Thore and Old Penrith. There are, of course, other cases, such as the omission of Lanchester in Iter I. But the

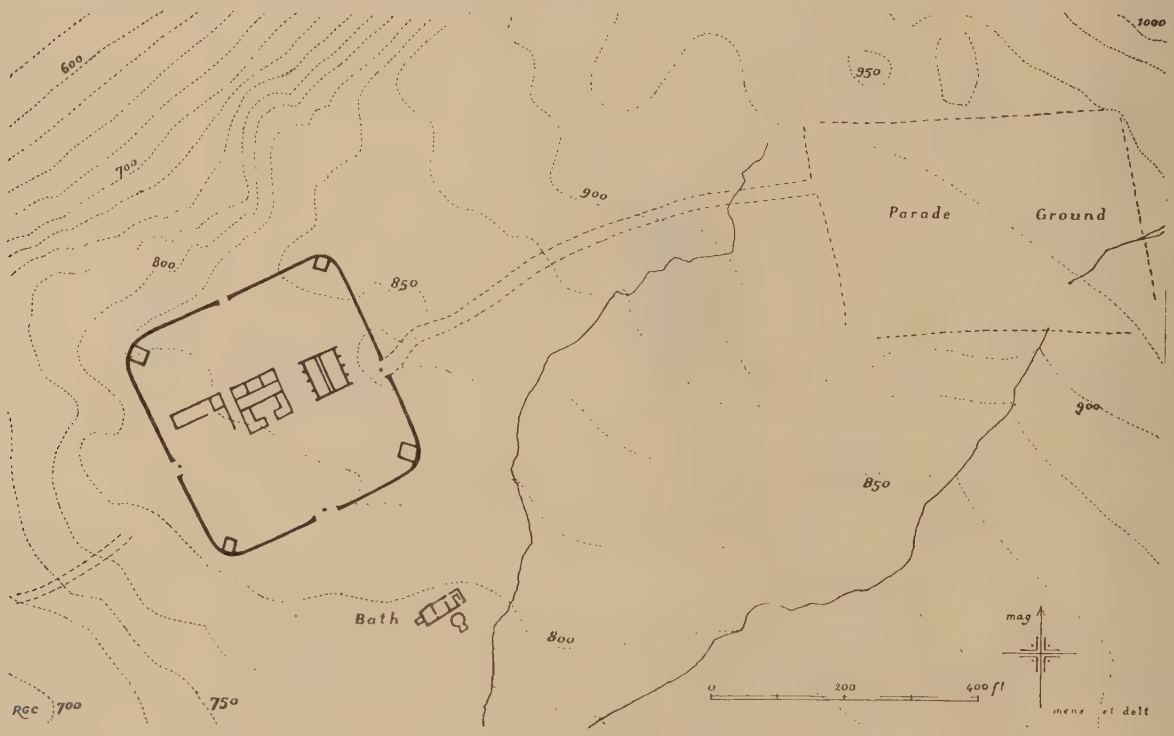


Fig. 2. Plan of Hardknot Castle.

apparent omission of Hardknot in Iter X suggests the possibility that in the late second or early third century when the Itineraries were drawn up the site may have been uninhabited; and that again suggested to me the desirability of seeing what could be done to determine the date of the occupation from the finds. These were the property of the late Lord Muncaster, who owned the site and found labour for the excavations; and it was well known that they were preserved at Muncaster Castle.

Owing to the war, an opportunity to inspect them did not arrive till 1920. Ten years before, they had received some attention from Haverfield, who reported that they were disappointing—no Samian to speak of, very few coins,

no inscriptions, but some coarse pottery types pointing to a first-century occupation, a suggestion confirmed by coins of Antony and Domitian.[1] But in 1910 very little was known about the accurate dating of Romano-British coarse pottery. Mr. James Curle's work at Newstead, which marked the beginning of the scientific study of such pottery, had already pointed the way, but it was not till about 1913 or 1914 that sufficient evidence had been accumulated and published to make the dating of a site from coarse pottery alone a possibility worthy of serious consideration. This possibility was especially due to the work of 1911 and succeeding years at Corbridge, at Wroxeter, and at certain well-stratified sites near Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall. I therefore hoped that by bringing this further knowledge to bear on the Hardknot finds, always supposing these finds had really been preserved in their entirety, it would be possible to date the occupation of the fort within reasonable limits.

On my visit to Muncaster Castle I found to my great satisfaction the whole mass of finds, down to the humblest potsherd, for the most part neatly packed in paper parcels and labelled in the hands of C. W. Dymond and the Rev. W. S. Calverley, both Fellows of this Society, who directed the work, and both now some years dead. Considering the date at which the excavations were done and the differences of opinion which unfortunately divided the directors, it was an impressive thing to see with what care they had united to preserve and label these bushels of fragments, to themselves quite unintelligible, in the hope that some future inquirer might be able to make use of them. The parcels had never been opened, previous inquirers (if, indeed, there were any besides Haverfield) having only inspected those sherds which had not been packed up; so that I was the first person to go through the bulk of the pottery.

On examining the whole of the material, I was at once struck by the fact that the fort had not been occupied after the second century. The earliest types of pottery were those which are everywhere in Scotland and the north of England associated with the campaigns of Agricola; the latest date somewhere not very late in the second century. On a closer inspection I felt obliged to date the occupation as lasting from A.D. 80 to 120; that is, to ascribe the origin of the fort to Agricola and to regard it as having been continuously occupied after his recall till about the time of Hadrian's visit to Britain. The evidence for this dating is set forth below.

The upper date I provisionally identify with the campaign of Agricola in 79. The evidence for this, apart from the inscription which may perhaps have

[1] MS. notes preserved in the Haverfield library at Oxford; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 568. An inscription was once visible on the site, reading GRIC . . LA . . COII (*C.I.L.* vii, 334; *Proceedings*, 1st. Ser., iii, 225), but there is nothing to indicate whether Julius Agricola, Calpurnius Agricola, or somebody else is named.

borne his name, consists of a few potsherds of strikingly early appearance, described and figured below (fig. 3, nos. 1–4). If, as may well be the case, these sherds are only isolated specimens of their period lingering on into a time when later types had almost ousted them, the pottery would tend to suggest that Hardknot was really built ten or even twenty years later. This possibility must be borne in mind; but if such a theory is accepted it will entail important consequences in the shape of a very large scheme of fortification carried out in the north of England about the year 100, midway between the Agricolan and Hadrianic schemes, a movement for which we have no scrap of literary evidence, to which a mass of relics must be ascribed which have generally been considered Agricolan. For quite small movements of this kind about the year 100 or later there is some archaeological evidence, but as yet not much; what there is appears to me still insufficient to outweigh the general probability that a fort situated like Hardknot, and certainly flourishing by about 100, was built by Agricola, who must have paid some attention to this piece of country in 79 and did, as we know from Tacitus, secure his conquests by means of a network of such forts. On the other hand, the potsherds at Hardknot that seem to date before 100 are much outnumbered by those that can probably be ascribed to the years 100–20; and the Agricolan date of Hardknot cannot be very confidently asserted on the strength of the pottery evidence alone.

The lower date of about A.D. 120 depends on a number of arguments of which that from coarse pottery is conclusive by itself, though the others serve to corroborate it. We shall consider the others first.

1. In ground plan the fort is a small square enclosure, not unlike a considerable number of first-century forts in shape and arrangement. It had a stone rampart with an earth bank behind it (a feature common to first- and early second-century forts) and its general appearance on the plan suggests a Flavian-Trajanic date. Now we have reason to believe that when these square early forts were reoccupied, as many were reoccupied, in the time of Hadrian they were generally razed to the ground and rebuilt on a wholly new plan. We do not, it is true, know very much about this subject yet. But the familiar plans at Bar Hill and Newstead, where in each case an Agricolan fort was thrown down and a new one on a more or less different pattern built by the Antonine engineers, find an excellent parallel not a dozen miles from Hardknot at Ambleside, where the explorations of the Cumberland and Westmorland Society[1] from 1913 to 1915 revealed a small squarish fort of the late first century, placed, just as Hardknot is placed, on a suitable plot of ground to which its plan is subtly adapted, and on the top of that a second-century fort, a good deal larger, oblong in shape like the forts of Hadrian's Wall and built upon a platform of artificially levelled

[1] Excavation reports in *Cumb. and West. Trans.* N.S. xiv, xv, xvi, xxi.

ground. Now if the site of Hardknot had been reoccupied as part of Hadrian's scheme, it is difficult to imagine that the buildings would not have been razed, the site levelled up, and a fort of the well-known second-century pattern built over it. This was not done; there is only one fort at Hardknot, and that is the first-century fort.

2. There is, secondly, the argument from coins. On this I lay little stress, for some coins may have been overlooked; but it is at least remarkable that the only coins found, setting aside two illegible ones, were a silver Antony, a denarius of Domitian dated to A.D. 95, and a brass of Trajan.

3. Of even less value is the argument from Samian pottery, of which extremely little was found. There is one tolerably complete vessel, a dish (Dragendorff 18) bearing the mark RVFFI·M. This potter appears to be undoubtedly a South Gaulish Flavian manufacturer,[1] but that does not prove that the deposit in which the vessel occurs is limited to the Flavian period or even belongs to that period at all; Mr. Curle reports wares of this very potter in Antonine deposits at Newstead. There is also one piece of figured Samian bearing an early Lezoux pattern (Déchelette 736) found at Wroxeter in a deposit of 80–130.

4. The only evidence whose bulk and character put it beyond dispute is that of the coarse pottery. Here not only are definitely late wares, like the so-called 'pitted' ware of the fourth century, the mortaria with 'hammer-head' rim, and the hard pipeclay fabrics with or without painted patterns, entirely absent, but it is to be observed that of second-century wares the characteristically Antonine types are almost wholly wanting, and only those are present which, when found in Hadrianic or Antonine deposits, are recognizable as survivals from the reign of Trajan.

To say this involves a claim to a somewhat close dating of certain pottery-types, and consequently it is desirable to review the types in detail in the hope of obtaining further light in the shape of criticisms by other students of coarse pottery.

We may begin with mortaria (fig. 3). The general type of mortarium is a heavy, hemispherical bowl a foot or less in diameter, having its inner surface thickly set with particles of hard stone to aid the trituration of meal or the like, and furnished with a massive rim. In the dating of mortaria the shape of the rim is the most useful guide, though the quality and colour of the clay, the character of the grit, and other indications are also of value.

Hardknot yields several mortaria (1–4) of very hard, rather gritty, fabric

[1] Déchelette, *Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, vol. i, p. 84, ascribes him to La Graufesenque. Messrs. Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, pp. 82, 122, 172, s.v. Rufus, give instances of the name on Drag. 29 and 37 (La Graufesenque and Montans, Nero to Domitian) and on Drag. 24/25.

with wide, thin, and almost flat rims. This is a first-century type. It begins losing its purity even towards the end of the century, and by the end of the century the rim is rapidly getting thicker and less flat. It is very seldom that one of these flat rims is found lingering on into a Hadrianic site; one resembling them occurred in the early stratum at High House Turret. These Hardknot specimens look to me definitely earlier than anything that has been found at the certainly Agricolan sites of Corbridge and Newstead, and they therefore constitute the pottery evidence, such as it is, for the Agricolan date of Hardknot.

Fig. 3. Mortaria and two Jugs from Hardknot ($\frac{1}{2}$).

The great majority of the Hardknot mortaria, however, belong to a type which has developed out of this flat rim, a type whose *floruit* appears to be about the years 90–120. Many of these Hardknot mortaria can be paralleled from the Wroxeter deposits of that period, and they have decided affinities with certain types found in the earliest strata on Hadrian's Wall and even on Scottish Antonine sites. Thus two mortaria, extremely like one of the latest Hardknot varieties (fig. 3, no. 17), are figured by Mr. Curle as coming from the Antonine fort at Newstead (nos. 11 and 12, see fig. 4). Similarly there are parallels between Hardknot no. 6 (fig. 3) and a High House Milecastle Hadrianic type (103 in fig. 4); another High House Milecastle type (101, fig. 4) resembles fig. 3, no. 22 from Hardknot, and yet another (100, fig. 4) resembles fig. 3, no. 20. But in all these cases the rule seems to hold good that either the Hardknot type is earlier in character than its analogue, or else the analogue is exceptionally early as compared with the associated finds

while the Hardknot specimen looks exceptionally late. We have therefore, it would appear, an example of overlapping types, which were at Hardknot associated with earlier patterns and in the middle of the century with later, while their period of commonest occurrence was probably about 120.

In searching Hadrian's Wall for close parallels with the later Hardknot wares—in searching, that is, for deposits in which late Hardknot types are the rule rather than the exception occurring among later patterns—we find such parallels only in the pre-Hadrianic forts on the Stanegate, viz. Throp and Haltwhistle Burn. Here, in forts built after the year 110 and abandoned about 120, mortaria closely resembling those from Hardknot are not the exception, as they are in Hadrianic deposits, but the rule. Indeed, every single mortarium found at these two forts might have come from Hardknot, and if they were shuffled among the Hardknot types it would be impossible for any one to pick them out on the ground of typological differences. Thus Haltwhistle Burn no. 3 (fig. 4) is practically Hardknot 6 (fig. 3); Throp 1, 2, and 3 (fig. 4) are hardly distinguishable from nos. 20–3 in fig. 3, which form the most characteristic late group among the Hardknot mortaria. There is nothing at Hardknot later than these; which seems to imply that the evacuation of Hardknot Castle dates about the same time as that of Throp and Haltwhistle Burn—at, or soon before, the building of Hadrian's Wall.

Fig. 4. Other Mortaria (½).

Turning to the bowls, we find that the Hardknot specimens are almost all of the carinated pattern with a flat or nearly flat rim, and the body cylindrical above and conical below, with a definite angle at the junction. Now this is a familiar type of the first century which lasts into the second but disappears completely and abruptly in the earlier part of the latter century. Thus in the Antonine fort at Newstead it is wholly absent, and in the Hadrianic strata on the Wall it only occurs exceptionally, for there are several examples in the Poltross Burn Milecastle, and nowhere else; whereas at pre-Hadrianic sites on the Wall (Corbridge early deposits, Haltwhistle Burn) it is of normal occurrence.

Poltross Burn is the only proved case of its appearance after 120. That is to say, it had disappeared in all but exceptional cases by 120, and altogether by 140, its place being taken by the 'pie-dish' bowl with straight sloping sides and a small flat rim, a type of vessel which generally carries a lattice ornament on the outside. That is the type in use at Newstead in the Antonine fort, and elsewhere. Now these 'pie-dish' bowls, very common in all mid-second-century sites, are entirely absent from Hardknot. The nearest is fig. 5, no. 44, which, however, is not the real type but one transitional to it, with a thick lip and no lattice ornament. The Hardknot series thus ends while the carinated bowl is still in its prime and before the 'pie-dish' has begun to take its place. This implies that it ends not later than where the earliest deposits on Hadrian's Wall begin. The Hardknot series seems to pass over into the Poltross Burn series without overlap and without appreciable break. For the Hardknot series includes hundreds of bowls closely akin to those found at Poltross Burn; in type they are less clean and sharp, in fabric less hard, than the early bowls from Corbridge and Newstead, and this brings their date nearer to the Hadrianic period than to the Agricolan or even the post-Agricolan Corbridge deposits.

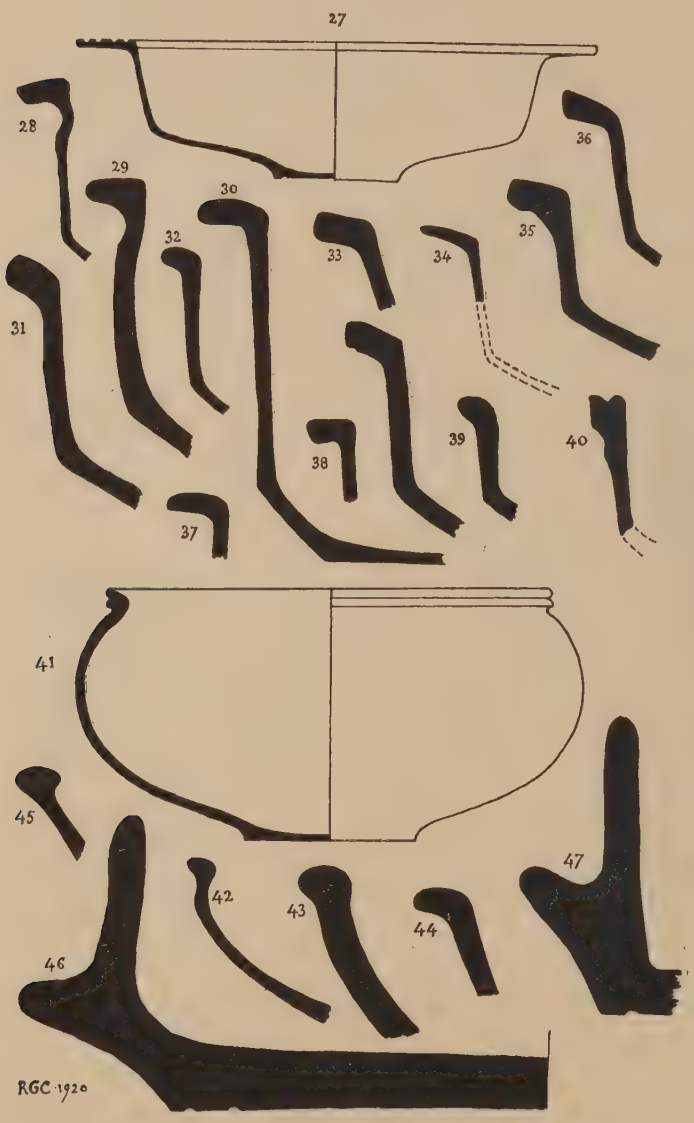


Fig. 5. Bowls from Hardknot (½).

On the other hand, certain of the Hardknot bowls seem earlier than the immediately pre-Hadrianic period; such are the very fine bowl 27, and the two heavy but hard and well-made *casserole*-shaped dishes (46, 47). I know of no parallel to these two, but their style is that of the late first century. The independent

evidence of the bowls thus permits an occupation dating back as far as Agricola, though not necessarily so far, and points very clearly to an evacuation about the time of the construction of Hadrian's Wall or a little earlier.

The various types of cooking-pot and beaker need not detain us long. By far the commonest are 48 and 49 (fig. 7), which are characteristic of the late first century and the beginning of the second. All the types 48–73 fall into this category; many of them linger into the Hadrianic, some even into the Antonine period, but in that case they are exceptions among prevalent later patterns, whereas at Hardknot they are the rule and occur in large numbers. A special problem, however, is presented by nos. 74–8, of which there are altogether, perhaps, half a dozen specimens. This is a typically Antonine pattern. It lasts with hardly any visible modification throughout the later second century and the third, and in deposits of the Hadrian-Antonine period it has already more or less completely expelled the 'neckless' types here represented by 48–73. Thus at Newstead it is the only kind of cooking-pot in use. This means that by 140 it is fully established; but it remains to be seen whether it came into use before 120 or whether its presence at Hardknot indicates a continued occupation after about that date. Fortunately this question can be answered with confidence. Two necked cooking-pots of just this pattern were found in the pre-Hadrianic fort at Haltwhistle Burn and three in the corresponding fort at Throp. In the latter site, it is true, a few intrusive potsherds of later date were found; but these three were not considered to be intrusive. Here again, therefore, the pre-Hadrianic Stanegate forts supply an accurate parallel with the latest phase of the occupation at Hardknot.

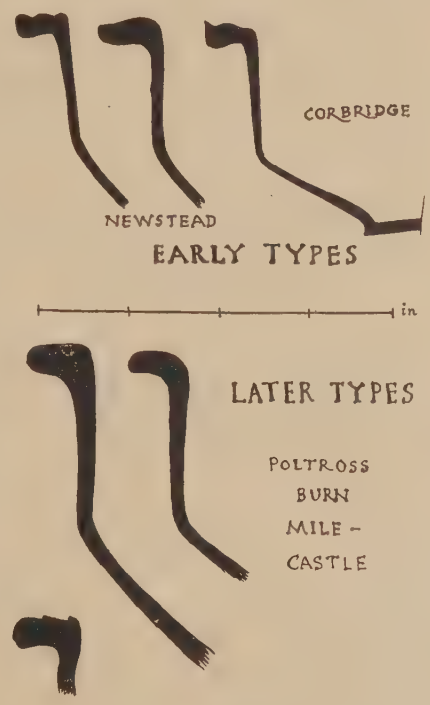


Fig. 6. Other bowls (1/2).

This evidence has been stated in detail because this is the first occasion on which a Romano-British site has been dated on the strength of coarse pottery alone; and in view of the present condition of the study of such pottery, and of the scepticism—a reasonable and necessary scepticism—with which the students of such pottery have generally found themselves confronted when they have ventured to predict the possibility of such datings, I feel it desirable to expose the whole process to the fullest possible criticism. The conclusion so far obtained is that the occupation of Hardknot Castle extended from Agricola, or

from a date soon after Agricola, down to a date shortly before Hadrian began to reorganize the frontier system. The pottery alone seems to me to prove an occupation from about 90 to about 120, or—since no one can claim to date by coarse pottery to within a year or two—from a date in the last twenty years of the first century to a date between 110 and 120, and perhaps nearer 120 than 110. On general grounds, as I have explained above, I find it easier to put the date of foundation back to Agricola (which the pottery, I think, permits) than to assume that the fort was built about 95, with all that such an assumption implies; but that is a matter on which future research alone can give us certainty. For the present we must add Hardknot to the list of 'post-Agricolan' sites, in the sense of sites which continued to be occupied in the interval between Agricola and Hadrian.

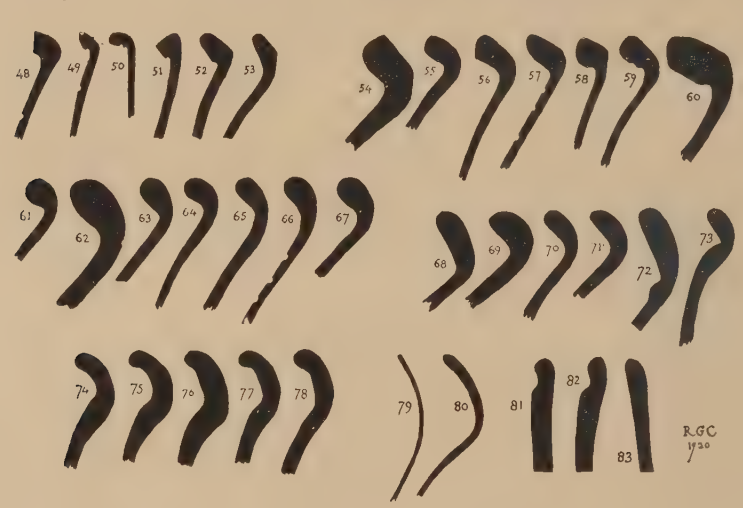


Fig. 7. Jars, &c., from Hardknot ($\frac{1}{2}$).

This is a valuable conclusion, because the history of this interval is now receiving a good deal of attention. Quite lately it was the accepted view that Agricola's campaigns were fruitless in the sense that their conquests were abandoned on his recall, and that it was reserved for Hadrian to push forward once more and to reoccupy sites which had lain vacant for thirty or forty years. When Mr. Curle found indications which led him to think that Newstead must have been held for an appreciable time after Agricola's withdrawal, his conclusions were by no means universally accepted; they were, indeed, challenged by no less an authority than Dragendorff (in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. i, p. 135). But since then discoveries have proceeded rapidly. At Inchtuthill, Camelon, and Ardoch, Dr. Macdonald has shown [1] that there were long post-Agricolan occupations, long enough to involve important reconstructions. At Inchtuthill there are traces of three distinct forts, all falling in the Flavian-Trajanic period. The number is interesting because it recalls that at Hardknot three superimposed floor-levels were found in the corner towers and perhaps elsewhere. The fact is certain, in spite of the denial of one of the excavators. The three floors found, about the same time, at Mucklebank Turret on

[1] Since this paper was written Dr. Macdonald has embodied his conclusions in a paper read at Oxford, and now published in *J. R. S.*, vol. ix.

Hadrian's Wall by the late J. P. Gibson, and later at Aesica, Poltross Burn, and elsewhere, suggested that the Hardknot floors were to be equated with these Hadrianic and post-Hadrianic strata; but now that they are clearly proved to be wholly pre-Hadrianic it is tempting to connect them with the three forts at Inchtuthill, on which hypothesis the lowest Hardknot floor would be Agricolan. The excavators at Hardknot unfortunately did not keep the pottery from the various floors separate.

In the north of England the same post-Agricolan occupation reappears. At Corbridge the Agricolan fort went on well into the reign of Trajan. At other sites along the Stanegate, forts were actually built during this period after the turn of the century. Farther south again, there are post-Agricolan occupations at Slack and Castleshaw; but the interval between these southern forts and the Stanegate has yielded no evidence on this subject except the fact that Hardknot also had a post-Agricolan history. This fact, however, is significant and points to others. The northern end of the Tenth Iter now appears to be Agricolan. At Ambleside we found an apparently Agricolan earthwork; at Watercrook there are some indications of first-century pottery; the evidence at Hardknot we have just reviewed; and at Ravenglass I have picked up a water-worn scrap of a Flavian mortarium. The whole line of road and forts is thus apparently a first-century scheme. And of this scheme one member, Hardknot, is now seen to have been kept going till close on Hadrian's arrival; presumably, that is, till the great disaster which befell the Roman garrisons at the beginning of Hadrian's reign and was the reason of his visit to Britain.

Now if Hardknot was retained during the post-Agricolan interval, it follows that other places in the district were retained also. Inchtuthill, Ardoch, Camelon, Newstead, and Corbridge are all important places, which would have to be held if the country was to be garrisoned at all. They are all strategic centres. But Hardknot is merely a link in a chain of forts along a road. It has no strategic significance whatever. It is not a centre for anything. It cannot possibly have been held, and no one would want to hold it even if he could, unless the other forts along the line, or at least a good many of them, were held too. If Ravenglass was held, and if Watercrook was held, then we can understand a garrison at Hardknot, but not otherwise. Ambleside we know was not held. The first-century remains are definite but scanty; there is every mark of a short occupation, and the whole early fort is sealed by a thick bed of silt laid down by the Rothay between its abandonment and its second-century re-occupation. The conclusion forces itself upon us that in the period between Agricola and Hadrian garrisons were maintained at Ravenglass and at the important road-junction of Watercrook; and that it was felt necessary to hold an intermediate fort as well. Ambleside was too low-lying and wet; so Hard-

knot, though in other ways less convenient, was held instead. After 120 when Hadrian reorganized the district, Ambleside was taken in hand, and the whole fort raised above flood-level on a platform of dredged gravel; this made Ambleside a habitable site, and Hardknot was allowed to lie waste.

But it is impossible to look at the map and maintain that an Agricolan and post-Agricolan occupation which involved these four forts on the Tenth Iter did not go farther. If Agricola planned the Tenth Iter and built its forts, we can hardly suppose that he planned it as his main line of march and of communications. If he was advancing northwards by way of Lancashire, it can hardly be doubted that he used the Lune gorge, and that the northern end of the Tenth Iter had a merely subsidiary importance, being designed at once to penetrate and secure the mountain district on his flank and to tap an exceptionally useful port. But this means that the series Lancaster (or Overborough or more likely both), Low Borrow Bridge, Brougham, and Old Penrith is partly or wholly an Agricolan series, and not only Agricolan but post-Agricolan.

From this point of view it may reasonably be argued that the post-Agricolan occupation of Hardknot, a secondary fort on a secondary line, proves *a fortiori* the post-Agricolan occupation of half a dozen other sites at the very least in the same district. And thus Hardknot, because of its very unimportance as a military centre, gains an additional importance as a link in a chain of evidence, and suggests not only that the Cumberland and Westmorland district was held after Agricola's departure, but that it was held on a very large scale and with an intensity of which our previous evidence in other districts gave us no idea.

It remains to verify this suggestion. Off the lines of the Wall and the Tenth Iter, excavations have been very rare in this district; but my own short dig at Papcastle in 1912 produced some mortaria which seem to me certainly pre-Hadrianic, and showed that there was an earlier fort underlying the one we were exploring. This earlier fort may well have been Agricolan. Nothing else has been done; for the attempt to dig Low Borrow Bridge in the eighties and Haverfield's excavations at the temporary camp of Caermote in 1900 have left no pottery, not even descriptions of what they found. Chance finds, like those at Maryport and recently at Mawbray, are unlikely to tap the lower strata of a site. I think we may claim to have shown that a campaign of digging would reveal a very important and widespread post-Agricolan occupation in the north-west of England; that recent work on the Tenth Iter has completed the first stage in this campaign, and that the next stage can be carried out whenever the means are forthcoming.

II.—*On some London Houses of the Early Tudor Period.*
By C. L. Kingsford, *Esq., M.A., Vice-President.*

Read 14th April 1921.

I have no intention to enter upon any general discussion of the character of London houses in the Tudor period. My only purpose is to lay before the Society such information as I have been able to collect with regard to four particular houses, which will serve to illustrate the furnishing, the arrangement of the rooms, the external surroundings, and in one instance the actual plan. Of the first of these houses I have no exact history of earlier date, but I am able to supply a precise Inventory of its contents room by room in 1509. The second and third—the Coldharbour and the Erber—were in their origin fourteenth-century houses of which the early history is well known, though of neither, so far as I am aware, do we possess such precise information with regard to the buildings as that which I have obtained for their condition in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. The fourth is a much less important building erected (or rebuilt) about 1555, but is of interest from the fact that we are able to restore its plan with some degree of certainty.

Stow, in his *Survey of London*,[1] after describing the house on the north side of St. Swithun's Church, which was once the home of Henry FitzAlwin, and afterwards the Prior of Tortington's Inn, on the site of the present Salters Hall, states that there was 'a fair garden belonging thereto lying on the west side thereof, on the backside of two other fair houses in Walbrook; in the reign of Henry VII, Sir Richard Empson dwelled in the one of them, and Edmund Dudley in the other; either of them had a door of intercourse into this garden, wherein they met and consulted of matters at their pleasure'.

This story of the notorious ministers of Henry VII is of course familiar, and from Stow's description it might be assumed that their houses lay a little way up Walbrook backing immediately on the site of Salters' Hall. But in the Inventory of the contents of Dudley's house, taken in the summer of 1509 at the time of his attainder, it is described precisely as 'set in the parisshe of Seynt Swithuns beside London Stone in Candelwykestrete of London'.[2] From this it seems clear that Dudley's house was at the corner of Cannon Street and Walbrook, with its main entry in the former: from another source we know that it

[1] i, 224.

[2] See p. 39 below.

had two gates, the other being probably in Walbrook.[1] The distance from the passage on the west of St. Swithun's Church to the corner would be about 180 feet, and a house of this importance may well have occupied the whole space, extending northwards about 60 feet at the east end and possibly more at the west; this would have enabled it to have had access to the garden behind Tortington Inn. In 1298 Ralph de Alegate had granted to the Temple 4 marks rent in Candelwykstrate from the tenement which Adam of Burton, skinner, held in the King's Street of Walbrook in the corner towards Candelwykstrate between the tenement once of Peter atte Lynde in Candelwykstrate, and the tenement of Agnes, daughter of Thomas of Oxford in Walbrook.[2] Dudley's house may well have covered the site of all these tenements. Adam of Burton and Thomas of Oxford, skinners, both appear as jurors from the Ward of Walbrook in 1291, and the former is mentioned as late as 1311.[3] Adam Bury, who was Mayor in 1373–4, owned a tenement late of John Pecche between another tenement of Bury's on the south and a tenement late of Thomas Bakewell on the north, and extending from the street of Walbrook on the west to the garden of the Prior of Tortington on the east.[4] One or more of these tenements would have been on the site of Empson's house. Beyond this I cannot give any history of Dudley's house till we find it in his occupation.

Dudley and Empson were arrested soon after the accession of Henry VIII, and the former was arraigned and convicted at London in July 1509. Sir John Digby was then ordered to enter Dudley's house and to take into safe-keeping all plate, jewels, goods, writings, bills, and other stuff there found. By an Indenture dated 16th August he delivered them to Sir Henry Marny on behalf of the king, with a detailed Inventory. In this Inventory the furniture and contents are described, beginning with the Hall. From the Hall it passes to the Great Parlour and then to the Little Parlour. Within the Little Parlour was the Counting-house. After this came the Long Gallery next the garden, adjoining to which was the Square Chamber, with a Little Chamber within it. This is followed by the Little Square Chamber, the Little House for the Bows, and the Armour Chamber. There was another Gallery next to the Great Chamber, and within the Great Chamber there was a Closet. Probably all these rooms after the Hall were on an upper floor. The next in order are the Great Wardrobe, the Little Wardrobe, and the Closet without the Little Wardrobe Door. Then we get the Low Gallery by the Garden, with the Great Gallery at the end of that. The Low Gallery was presumably on the ground level, and from the

[1] See p. 39 below.
[2] Cartulary of St. John Clerkenwell, Cotton MS., Nero E. vi, f. 26.
[3] *Calendar of Letter Books of London*, A, pp. 178, 220; B, p. 18.
[4] Will ap. P. C. C. Rous, f. 8.

description of their contents both these galleries seem to have been used as sheds or stores; in the former was a closed car with wheels, and a leather covering for a cart, in the latter bags of pepper and alum, five old coffers of evidences, and other goods. The only other rooms named are my Lady Litton's[1] Chamber (the sole contents of which were a counterpoint of verders and a cupboard), the Buttery, and the Kitchen. Presumably there were other offices, the rooms specified which appear to belong to the upper floor being more numerous than those which can be assigned to the ground floor. The Great and Little Parlours were perhaps above the Great and Little Wardrobes, with a Gallery on either floor adjoining them. Two of the galleries at all events faced a garden. The Hall was perhaps of an early type with open roof. Altogether we have twenty rooms, and there may have been others which were occupied by Dudley's servants and did not contain any of his goods. The house was clearly one of some importance and, though we have no precise indication of its plan, was probably after the usual custom built round a small court; the garden would have been in the north-east corner abutting on the other garden at the back of Tortington Inn. The main interest of the Inventory consists, however, in the description of the contents of the house.

In the Hall there was a hanging of arras at the high dais, with a cupboard, long board, two trestles, and two joined forms; thus it was furnished after the ordinary manner of a small hall. But there was also a closh-board, covered with green cloth; closh as thus played on a cloth-covered board was probably the same as the closheys of ivory at which the ladies of Elizabeth Woodville's court played in the Queen's chamber.[2] The Great Parlour had hangings of buckram, paly red and green, and like the Little Parlour had curtains of green say in the windows; the principal furniture of both these rooms consisted of trestles, joined forms, and cupboards; in each of them there was a French chair. In the Great Parlour there was also a 'Little Wache' and a screen of wickers. In the Counting-house besides pewter dishes there were glasses and bottles of beyond-sea making. In the Long Gallery, which was hung with blue and yellow buckram, the most noteworthy articles were two stained cloths of imagery and another French chair. The Square Chamber was the principal bedroom; the bed was of white fustian fringed with bells of wood and gilt. There was also in this room a little altar-cloth of arras stained, in a frame with a little curtain of white and black, paly. Other articles were three carpets, a French chair, a close-chair, and a 'closse-press' containing arras and hangings. In the Little Chamber and Little Square Chamber there was nothing that calls for notice.

[1] Dudley mentions 'his kind lady my Lady Litton' in his Will (*Letters and Papers*, i, 1212). She was perhaps Elizabeth, widow of Sir Robert Lytton (Keeper of the Wardrobe), who died in 1505.

[2] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 386.

In the Little House for the Bows there are 157 bows and 35 sheaves of arrows; also with other things a quantity of furs, coffers with writings and evidences, and a round table. The contents of the Armour Chamber are of greater interest, with quantities of harness both of the English and Almayne fashion, 30 pairs of briganders, 29 salets, two pairs of briganders for himself (which from their description were more for show than use), 60 black bills, and 27 white coats guarded with green fringe, besides much else. This quantity of armour reminds one that a principal charge against Dudley was that when Henry VII lay dying he had summoned his friends to attend him under arms in London.[1] It reminds one also of Stow's story[2] of how forty years later the Earl of Oxford used to ride to his house by London Stone with a train of 80 gentlemen and 100 yeomen.

The other Gallery was hung with green and red, with curtains of green say, carpets, cupboard, long joined form, a French chair, a coffer with bills, and boxes with evidences. The Great Chamber was a bedroom, with seler and tester of embroidered bawdekin and a good sufficiency of furniture. There were also in it a spruce coffer containing doublets and gowns (all described at length), and a great coffer with two lids, wherein were a great quantity of cloths, hangings, and cushions. Seven pieces of imagery, embroidered for the months of the year to set on a cloth, deserve special mention. The Closet within this chamber contained divers evidence and other writings, as well belonging to Edmond Dudley as to other persons. In the Great Wardrobe were stored beds, hangings, and carpets. Amongst them appear a banner cloth of my Lord Lisle's arms of woollen, fringed; two pieces of verders with Edmond Dudley's arms and the Lord Lisle's matched together; a piece of arras, which hung over the chimney in the Great Parlour. In the Little Wardrobe were a quantity of gowns, some furniture (including a table of Spanish making), a book of the Statutes, written, and two books and a little book in French, printed. Also two 'gardevyaunce' with obligations concerning the king, with other evidences and bills. In the Closet without the Little Wardrobe was the silver plate, about 1,650 ounces in all. Amongst the more interesting articles are two Rhenish cruses chased, parcel gilt; five spoons of silver with gilt knops; six gilt spoons with wodehouse at the ends; a standing cup of silver and gilt, chased, parcel enamelled with images of kings, and weighing 89 oz.; another standing-cup with a cover, chased with the Dudley arms on the bottom, 33 oz.; a Rhenish cruse, gilt, with a cover graven with rose flowers de luce and portcullises (may this be taken to mean Tudor roses and portcullises?); a gilt goblet covered with flowers de luce in the cover; and a basin and ewer with my lady Lisle's arms, weighing 86 oz. Dudley's wife was Elizabeth Grey, sister and coheiress of John, Viscount

[1] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, i, p. 1548. [2] *Survey*, i, 89.

Lisle. In the Closet there was also a quantity of cloths of gold and bawdekin. The contents of the Low Gallery, the Great Gallery at its end and of my Lady Litton's Chamber have already been mentioned. The contents of the Buttery and Kitchen do not call for special notice.

This Inventory seems to be of particular interest, because from the circumstances under which it was made we may assume that it gives a fairly complete record of the contents of the London house of a person of distinction. The repeated mention of chests and boxes of evidences, obligations, and bills is of interest in connexion with the story of the extortions and legal proceedings which Empson and Dudley had practised in the king's service. All Dudley's goods were of course forfeit through his attainder. In his Will he laments that he could deal only with those landed estates that were in the hands of feoffees;[1] but apparently he had been prudent enough thus to settle a very considerable property. He named as his executors Richard FitzJames, bishop of London, Dean Colet, Sir Andrews Windsor, and Dr. John Yonge, who was suffragan of London and bishop of Gallipoli. Five years after the executors obtained a grant of Dudley's goods,[2] so that some part of the contents of the house may have returned to his family. The house in St. Swithun's, in which Dudley had only a leasehold interest, was forfeited to the Crown. It seems to have been granted first to Richard Forster, and afterwards for a term of twenty-four years to Sir Richard Wingfield. On the latter occasion it is described as a great house in St. Swithun's with gardens and entrance by two great gates; from this grant it appears that Dudley also held a tenement in St. Swithun's Lane.[3] Wingfield, who was a distinguished diplomatist, died at Toledo in June 1525. His executors sold his lease to William Compton, ancestor of the marquis of Northampton, who held it at his death in 1528.[4]

The early history of the Coldharbour has been dealt with sufficiently elsewhere.[5] Here I need only recall that whilst it can be traced back to the end of the thirteenth century, the chief builder of it was the famous Sir John Pulteney about 1335. In the reign of Richard II it came into the possession of John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, and in spite of some vicissitudes remained to his descendants till 1475. Edward IV then granted it to his queen, Elizabeth Woodville. In 1480 the king's sister Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, was lodged there during a visit to England. On this occasion 4*s.* were spent on a travas with two curtains of green sarsenet for the Chapel; and sheets, fustians, and arras (of the story of Paris and Helen) with a quantity of rings and crochets (or hooks) were issued from the Great Wardrobe to provide for her better enter-

[1] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, i, 1212.
[2] *Ibid.*, i, 5427.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii, 3586 (28).
[4] *Ibid.*, iv, 4442.
[5] *London Topographical Record*, x, 94–100; *Archaeologia*, lvii, 259–62.

tainment.[1] Richard III in 1483 granted the Coldharbour to the College of Heralds. But immediately on obtaining the throne Henry VII resumed possession, and bestowed it on his mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, then countess of Derby.[2]

The occupation by the Heralds seems to have been as disastrous to the Coldharbour as that of any modern Ministry might have been. Henry VII ordered Thomas Litley, one of the Customers of the subsidy in the Port of London, to supervise the necessary repairs, and under Litley's direction £28 18*s.* 2*d.* were spent on necessary repairs during the autumn of 1485. With the exception of the building of a new chimney there does not seem to have been any structural alteration; new lattices and glass had to be provided for many windows, and old glass and casements refitted throughout; locks and keys had vanished and had to be replaced; the walls had to be recoloured with red Motty, Cole, and Oker; the fitments, which in a medieval house formed a considerable part of the furniture, had to be renewed; the leads and tiles were made good, and the garden put in order. Litley in submitting his Book of Reparacions set out all the work in detail, and attached the Bills and Receipts of the various workmen employed; his record is thus one of exceptional interest and value. The work is described as done on behalf of 'My lady the King's mother', and there are indications that Lady Margaret was in actual occupation of the Coldharbour at all events before the end of 1485. Much of the work could no doubt have been done without serious inconvenience to the residents. From the nature of Litley's Account we get no such orderly description of the rooms as in the case of Dudley's mansion. But incidentally we obtain a wealth of detail as to the fittings and position of a great number of rooms. Altogether there is mention of about forty separate rooms, and since we have no definite material on which to fix the plan of the house I will endeavour to classify them as well as possible, noting any information as to their relative positions.

First of all comes the Great Hall. From one reference we know that it had a door next to the vine on the garden side; it appears to have overlooked the river, for the chamber above the Hall is described as having windows by the water-side;[3] probably there was a garden by the water-side, on to which the principal rooms faced; there is specific reference to the glazing of windows over the garden on the water-side.[4] Otherwise all that we learn of the Great Hall relates to the fitments and furniture: 'mending an old spire in the Hall', which perhaps refers to a small screen before the door or the fire-place rather than to

[1] Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, &c., pp. 124, 126, 141, 144, 145.

[2] The grant appears under date 22nd March, 1487 (*C. P. R.* Henry VII, i, 155); but Lady Margaret was clearly in possession in September 1485.

[3] See p. 45.

[4] See p. 45.

'the screens' at the lower end; 16*d.* were paid to the carpenters 'which did make the forms in the Hall', and 4*d.* for 'skowchyons to bare the coborde in the Hall'[1]. Four feet of new glass were inserted in the Hall beside the Buttery, and the old glass in the same place was dressed and mended.[2] With the Hall it is natural to take the Buttery and Ewery. A pane of glass containing 5 ft. was supplied for the Buttery, and the windows provided with a new firment; two candlesticks were also procured, price 2*d.* each.[3] The Ewery (or Eaury as it is here spelt) was the place where the ewers, table linen, and towels were kept, and like the Buttery was probably behind the Screens. At Coldharbour it would seem that the candles for the Hall were fitted there, since an ashen table, price 5*s.* 6*d.*, was placed in the Ewery for the waxchandlers.[4] Other references are to the Ewery borde and Ewery door.[5]

At Coldharbour in addition to the Great Hall there was a Little Hall, which was, I suppose, the private dining-room. The principal references are to glazing; two panes of Dutch glass containing 10 ft., the scouring and setting up of four other panes, and the provision of twenty-one quarrels.[6] It was probably on the water-side, like the stair that ran up over it.[7] The Little Hall seems to have had its own Buttery. Other rooms on the same floor were the Parlours, one by the garden and another by the Thames.[8]

Above the Great Hall was the Great Chamber. It is difficult to be certain whether the title 'The Great Chamber' is used always of the same room. Eight feet of 'florysche' (flourished or ornamented) glass were set in the Great Chamber over the Great Hall.[9] This was probably the Great Chamber where 5*d.* was spent on nails to fasten crests for tapets,[10] and where the glass windows were mended by a glazier who 'took a gret'.[11] It was probably also for this room that there were provided three iron cases for the Great Chamber window by the water-side, together with hooks, weighing in all 30 lb.[12] It may also be the Chamber over the Great Hall in which four panes were fitted with twenty-seven quarrels of English glass.[13] But possibly there was more than one chamber over the Great Hall; for in one place there is mention of the Chamber above the Hall on the water-side.[14] It is more doubtful whether the Great Chamber over the Hall is to be identified with the Great Chamber otherwise called my Lord's Wardrobe, of which my Lord's servants had lost the key.[15] There was another Great Chamber over the Little Hall, for two windows of which 14 ft. of Dutch glass were provided at a cost of 7*s.*[16]

[1] See pp. 44, 46. [2] See p. 45. [3] See pp. 45, 46. [4] See p. 44.
[5] See p. 46. For 'Thewry dore' at Baynard's Castle see Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p. 80.
[6] See p. 46. [7] See p. 47. [8] See p. 45. [9] See p. 47.
[10] See p. 44. [11] Or contract. See p. 44. [12] See p. 49. [13] See p. 47.
[14] See p. 45. [15] See p. 49. [16] See p. 47.

In my Lady's Chamber two panes of new glass were supplied, in either pane $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft., with the arms of my Lord and my Lady; this cost 3*s.* 9*d.* Other windows in the same chamber were reglazed with 28 ft. of Normandy glass. Next to my Lady's Chamber was a Closet in which the glass was reset.[1]

Two other Chambers are of special interest for their association with my Lady Elizabeth and the duke of Buckingham. Elizabeth of York was in the care of Margaret Beaufort during one time in the reign of Richard III, and one of Henry VII's first acts as king was to have her brought to London and placed again in the charge of his mother, with whom she remained till her marriage in January 1486. The fact that one room at Coldharbour was called 'Lady Elizabeth's Chamber' points to Margaret Beaufort having been in residence there in the autumn of 1485. For the Lady Elizabeth's Chamber there were provided a table and two trestles, price 2*s.* 8*d.*, and four boards which cost 8*d.*, and six sawdelet bars were fitted to the west window. There was a new key for the Wardrobe of my Lady Elizabeth, which was perhaps a small adjoining room.[2] Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was the little son of the duke, whom Richard III executed in 1483. Henry VII granted custody of his lands and his wardship to Margaret Beaufort before 3rd August 1486.[3] His chamber or lodging at Coldharbour had a new door and new glass in the windows.[4] There was a door at the stair foot on the backside of this chamber, and a high window over it.[5]

Other chambers were the Chamber next the Chapel, the Chamber over the Wardrobe, the Chamber over the Gate, and the Chamber without the Gate.[6] Then there were the Chambers of officers of the household, Master Reginald Bray, Master Fowler, and John Denton.[7] Bray had long been in the service of Margaret Beaufort and was at this time her Receiver-General; he is of course the well-known Sir Reginald Bray. Master Fowler is no doubt the Thomas Fowler who is commemorated on a brass at Christ's College, Cambridge.[8] Denton was perhaps the husband of Elizabeth Denton, whom Henry VIII in 1509 confirmed in the keepership of the Coldharbour.[9] The windows of Bray's and Denton's chambers were reglazed with Normandy glass, and 2*s.* 4*d.* were spent on an old cupboard for the former. For Fowler's Chamber

[1] See p. 47. [2] See pp. 46, 48, 49.

[3] Campbell, *Materials for the History of Henry VII*, i, 118, 532.

[4] See pp. 45, 47. [5] See p. 44. [6] See pp. 45, 47, 49. [7] See pp. 47, 48.

[8] 'squyer and gentilmā ussher of the chambir w^{t} the ffamous Kyng Edward iiij & Edyth his wife, And of late gentilwoman w^{t} the Excellent princesse Margaret Countesse of Richmonde mod' to the most victoryouse Kyng Henry the vijth: the said Edyth departed this lyff the yer of our lord 15—.' Arms, top dexter and bottom sinister Fowler and its quarterings, over all a crescent for difference. Top sinister and bottom dexter Dynham quartering Archer, over all a crescent for difference.

[9] *Letters and Papers*, i, 270.

a new chimney was required; this seems also to have served the Steward's Chamber and Counting-House. Abell's and Byrkhide's Chambers, which only wanted new keys, were probably occupied by other officers. Subordinate officials whose rooms are mentioned are the Steward, the Controller, the Cater, the Clerk of the Kitchen, the Master Cook, and the Second Cook. In the Steward's Chamber there was a bay window; the leads above it required repair, as did also the leads above the Clerk of the Kitchen's Chamber; the two rooms were perhaps close together under the roof. Another room of which the character is less clear is called 'the Skynner's Chamber'.[1]

Of the position of the Wardrobe we get no more indication than that there was a Chamber over it;[2] probably it was on the lower floor. In it were two great chests which were 'departed' and joined again, an operation which cost 1*s*. As in other rooms the old glass had to be repaired, and a new lock and key provided.[3]

The Chapel is one of the few apartments in Coldharbour of which we hear before this time. In 1485 two forms were provided for it, and five windows had the glass scoured and reset.[4] The Priest's Chamber, in which some boards were nailed up,[5] was probably conveniently near.

I now turn to the domestic offices. Foremost of course was the Kitchen. Bars were fitted to the oven mouth, and a piece of timber supplied to bear the mantel of the oven.[6] But the chief work was on the windows, which required 13 ft. of Flemish glass, costing 4*s*. 4*d*., 26½ ft. of Venice glass in three panes, costing 13*s*. 3*d*., and 26 quarrels of English glass, costing 2*s*. 2*d*.[7] Venice glass was one of the most expensive kinds, and occurs only here in these accounts; the reason for its use in this position seems to be obscure. The Kitchen windows were also supplied with sawdelet bars and garnets.[8] One curious item was 12*d*. for seven quarters of timber 'for a gapias wyndow in the kytchin';[9] I have not discovered what this means, but possibly it was a squint to enable those within to see any one outside.[10] There is a bare mention of the Kitchen Closet.[11] In the Larder house there were both a Wet Larder and a Dry Larder. Other offices were Pantry, Pastery, Boiling-house (with a furnace and cauldron), wood-house, and wine-cellar.[12]

In a house of such a size there were naturally a number of staircases. Mention occurs of the stair-end next the Great Chamber, the stair over the

[1] See pp. 49, 50. [2] See p. 47. [3] See pp. 44, 47. [4] See pp. 44, 45.
[5] See p. 48. [6] See pp. 46, 49. [7] See pp. 46, 47. [8] See p. 50.
[9] See p. 46.
[10] See Parker, *Domestic Architecture*, iii, 49. In accounts relating to Cutlers' Hall in 1467–8 there is reference to lead for the 'gapier' window.—Welch, *Hist. Cutlers' Company*, i, 319.
[11] See p. 46. [12] pp. 48, 49.

Little Hall by the water-side, the stair foot on the backside of the Duke of Buckingham's Chamber, the stair by the Cook's Chamber, the stair door between the two gates and the stair without the gate.[1]

In the Porter's Lodge there were various small repairs; a lantern for the Porter cost 16*d.*[2] The Lodge was presumably at the Great Gate. Sir John Pulteney had rebuilt the steeple of All Hallows the Less over an arched gate, which formed the main entry to the Coldharbour. But besides the Great Gate we have mention of the 'New Gate', and of the Water Gate. Both the Great Gate and the New Gate had wickets.[3] A Water Gate is shown in Hollar's view; there was a penthouse over it.[4] The Great Door of the Entry[5] was probably at the Great Gate; we also hear of the entry of the Sege Alley,[6] and the entry door of the water-side.[7]

Unlike so many London houses the Coldharbour seems to have had no subsidiary tenements, with the possible exception of the Chamber without the Gate, which is also called the House without the Gate,[8] and was probably occupied by some servant. There were Stables from which two lighter-loads of dung were taken away by water to Paris Garden,[9] which was probably the nearest agricultural land. There were one or more gardens; as stated above there was a garden on the water-side,[10] but possibly there was also an internal garden; in one place there is a distinct reference to gardens. Two gardeners were employed for three days in all on the garden, and a labourer had 9*d.* for working and dressing the herbs for the gardens.[11] In this connexion there is a curious and interesting reference to the setting of glass in a window there as the little lattice and two irons to set pots with herbs.[12]

The interest of this Account is too great and varied to be exhausted in the space at my disposal. But some other items call for our attention. Besides trestles, forms, stools, and cupboards the carpenters made and set up beds, and two beds were bought ready made for 2*s.* 8*d.*,[13] whilst a joiner supplied six dormant tables, at a cost of 23*s.* 4*d.*[14] Lattices seem to have been fitted pretty generally to the windows throughout the building. But the actual windows appear to have all been glazed. The detailed bills from two glaziers with their specifications of the various kinds of glass, Venice, Dutch, Flemish, Normandy, and English, are amongst the most interesting items of the Account.[15] Besides the arms in the window in My Lady's Chamber, there was a 'skochyn w[t] my ladys Armes set on the Watter side',[16] perhaps in the Great Hall. In addition

[1] See pp. 47, 48, 49, 50.
[2] See pp. 44, 46, 47, 48.
[3] See pp. 46, 49.
[4] See p. 46.
[5] See p. 45.
[6] See p. 45.
[7] See p. 46.
[8] See p. 49.
[9] See pp. 43, 46.
[10] See p. 45.
[11] See p. 44.
[12] See p. 47.
[13] See p. 46.
[14] See p. 48.
[15] See pp. 45–7.
[16] See p. 45.

to the actual repairs Litley accounts for various articles bought for household use, such as utensils for the kitchen, including a number of wooden bowls and trays purchased from a turner.[1] Amongst other items were poles and hurdles for a scaffold,[2] a long pole of alder for the bucket in Thames,[3] and Moty, dishes of Cole, and oker for colouring the walls.[4] In the *Oxford Dictionary* Moty is described simply as 'some pigment', and a quotation is given of 'vj disches of Cole and xij lbb. of Moty', from the Accounts of St. Mary-at-Hill Church in 1426. Dr. Bradley informs me that the meaning of Moty is still obscure to him; in some places in Litley's Account we have mention of 'red Moty'.[5] Dr. Bradley suggests that 'cole' was probably a black paint. Mention may also be made of the 'hollow' keys, which occur often in a locksmith's bill.

Such a large mansion as the Coldharbour must have covered a considerable site. It certainly extended from Thames Street to the river, a distance of about 300 ft. The frontage in Thames Street to the east of All Hallows Church would not have been more than about 60 ft. But, as we have seen, Sir John Pulteney built the steeple of All Hallows the Less over an arched gate, and his mansion no doubt extended westwards behind the church. Stow states expressly that when the earl of Shrewsbury in Elizabeth's reign converted the Coldharbour into tenements he built over the lower part of the lane called Wolses Gate.[6] It is probable, therefore, that the old mansion extended as far as that lane. This would have given a river frontage of about 150 ft. The Coldharbour probably underwent many changes after its first rebuilding by Pulteney. Alice Perrers, who occupied the chief part of the Coldharbour during the latter years of the reign of Edward III, built much, including perhaps an erection which for a time caused the Coldharbour to be called Le Toure.[7] The name was in use as late as 1439, but if this Toure survived till 1485 there is no mention of it in Litley's Account. Much of the Coldharbour was pulled down by the earl of Shrewsbury a hundred years later. The building as then altered is shown very clearly in Hollar's View of London (pl. II, fig. 3). It has been supposed that the front as it there appears preserved in part the original building. But in the light of the evidence now obtained this seems doubtful. In Hollar's View the front of the Coldharbour was on the edge of the river. From Litley's Account it is, however, clear that there was a garden on the water-side. So in Van den Wyngaerde's View drawn about 1550 we find the buildings stand back from the river (pl. II, fig. 1). The most striking feature in the earlier view is

[1] See p. 48. [2] See p. 48. [3] See p. 46.
[4] See pp. 44, 46. [5] See p. 46.
[6] *Survey*, i, 237; it was before 1590, in which year he died.
[7] Or it is possible that the name had reference to the steeple of All Hallows, under which was the gate of the Coldharbour.

the presence of a large quadrangle in the south-east corner. The east wing of this quadrangle had a double gable, and the double ridge of roof seems to be shown in the rear of the principal building in Hollar's View, where also the ridge of the west wing of the quadrangle perhaps appears in the proper position. If this conclusion is correct the whole front as shown in Hollar's View will date from the late sixteenth century. In any case part of that front must be of this date, since as we have seen the earl of Shrewsbury built over the lower part of the lane called Wolses Gate, and the front as shown in Hollar's View appears to extend farther to the west than the old building had done. In the Map which passes under the name of Agas the detail given for the Coldharbour seems a little less conventional than usual, and there is perhaps a suggestion of a building standing back from the river (pl. II, fig. 2); a Watergate is clearly shown, much in the position of one that appears in Hollar's View; it would not be safe to place confidence in the Agas map, but Van den Wyngaerde's View seems to be imperfect, and since from Litley's Account we know that there was a Watergate, it is possible that the old gate was adapted at the rebuilding.

Like the Coldharbour the Erber had been a merchant's house before it became a nobleman's mansion. In 1373 a lease of the Erber with all the shops, cellars, sollars, gardens, and rents belonging thereto was acquired by William Latimer, lord of Danby. Latimer's daughter married John Neville, father of the first earl of Westmorland, who obtained a grant in fee from Henry IV. The earl of Westmorland left the Erber to his eldest son Richard, who in right of his wife was earl of Salisbury, and was father of the Kingmaker. Edward IV granted the Erber in 1472 to his brother George, duke of Clarence, who had married the Kingmaker's elder daughter. By Clarence's attainder the Erber reverted to the Crown, and was granted by Henry VII to the earl of Oxford for life. When the earl of Oxford died in 1513 Henry VIII restored the Erber to Margaret Pole, daughter of Clarence and countess of Salisbury in her own right. Margaret lived there till her arrest on a pretended charge of treason twenty-five years later.[1] This much of the early history of the Erber is necessary to explain the series of documents with which I shall next deal. These consist of a Rental and a series of Accounts rendered by the Collector of Rents for the countess between 1514 and 1524, together with an account for the time when the Erber was in the king's hands in 1539.

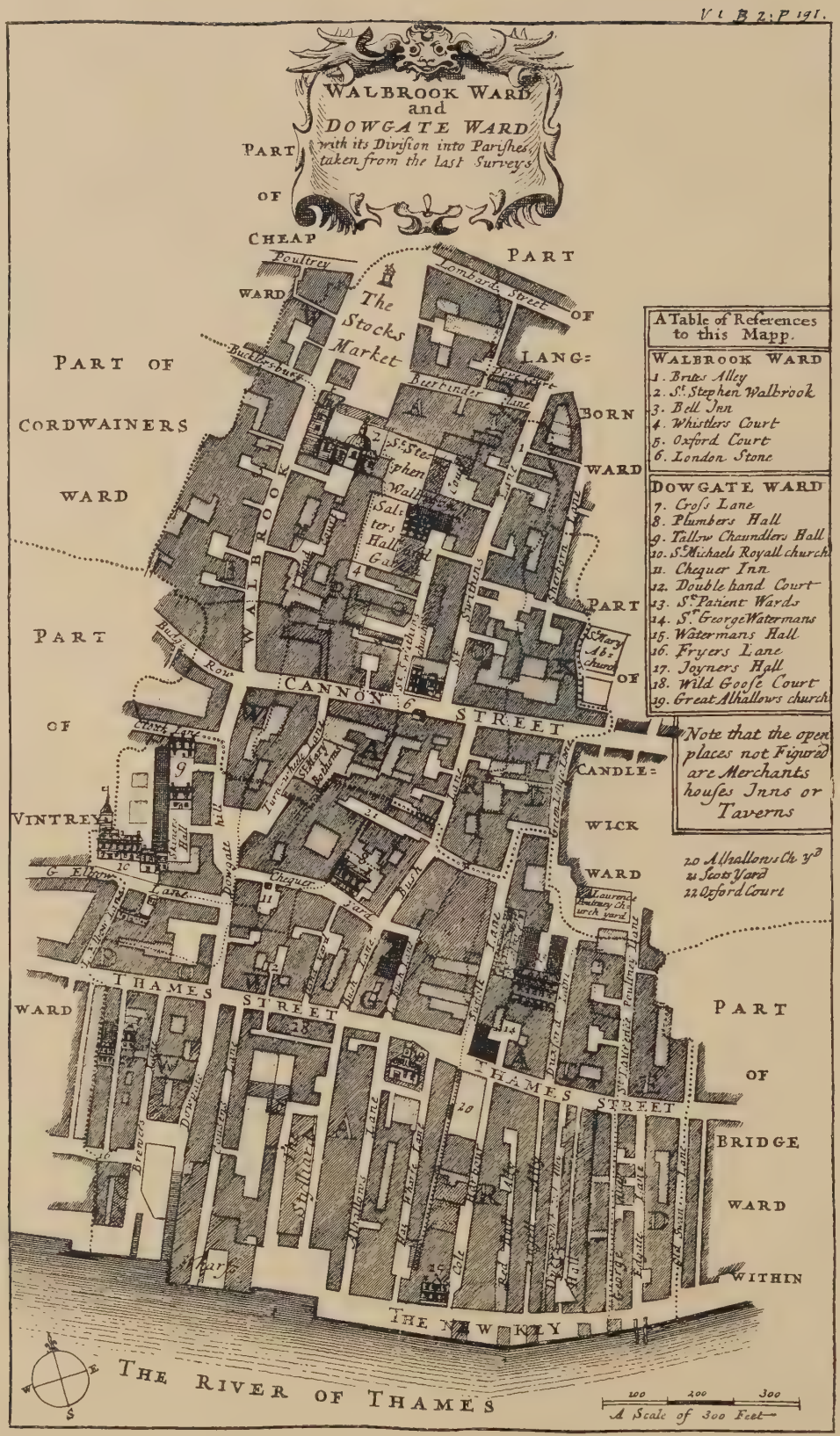
From their character we cannot expect to find in these Accounts such detailed information as we have had about Dudley's house and the Coldharbour. Their chief interest lies in the references to the external buildings belonging to the Erber. We have had mention in 1373 of the shops, sollars, cellars, gardens, and rents, and in 1392 Richard II made a grant of the office of Keeper of the

[1] See *London Topographical Record*, x, 114–16.

Fig. 1. The Coldharbour, from Wyngaerde's View

Fig. 2. The Coldharbour, from the Agas map

Fig. 3. The Coldharbour, from Hollar's View



Plan of Walbrook and Dowgate Wards: from Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey*

Common Beam hanging in the Erber.[1] Thus it is clear that the property included a good deal besides the actual mansion. The Erber was situated in Dowgate Ward immediately south of the church of St. Mary Bothawe. The site was an irregular quadrilateral, some 50 yds. from north to south and about 70 yds. from west to east. It had street frontages on three sides, to Dowgate, Carter or Chequer Lane, and Bush Lane.[2] It therefore lent itself peculiarly well to what seems to have been a common plan for larger houses in London, namely, a mansion built round an internal court or courts, with access by one or more gates, whilst the street frontages were in part let out for other purposes. This was certainly the case with the episcopal palaces in the Strand.

Although, as I have stated, there is evidence that the Erber included in the fourteenth century other tenements besides the principal mansion, it probably did not then include the whole block between Dowgate and Bush Lane. In 1410 Robert FitzWalter acquired with other property a tenement called The George on the west side of Gofair Lane; it was bounded by the great place of the earl of Westmorland called the Erber on the north and west, and by Carter Lane beside the Erber on the south.[3] Gofair Lane must apparently be identified with Bush Lane and The George must be one of the tenements which a hundred years later were parcel of the Erber.

The Erber is described in 1520 as having two gates, which are referred to in the Accounts simply as the fore-gate and the back-gate. The former, it seems safe to assume, was in Dowgate, in which case the latter was in Bush Lane, though there is also mention of a gate in Carter Lane. William Okeley, the Collector, is described as occupying a tenement at the fore-gate; there are other instances where a tenement by the principal gate is found in the occupation of the Keeper or some principal official of the Inn, as for instance at Ely Place. There is no mention of any other tenement on this side, and the Dowgate Street frontage may have been occupied by buildings of the mansion proper. In Carter or Chequer Lane we find there was a garden plot which was let, and a stable which was apparently in hand. Here also there was a hay-house and a timber-haw or wood-yard in the occupation of William Mabson, and a plot called 'Mabson's place', which was used in 1539 for fastening horses whilst waiting to be shod.[4] Stow[5] writes: 'Next to this great house (the Erber) is a lane turning to Bush Lane, of old time called Carter Lane, of carts and carmen having stables there, and now called Chequer Lane or Chequer Alley of an Inn called the Chequer.' The Chequer Inn was part of the property of the Erber, and is re-

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Richard II, v, 144.
[2] The greater part of the site is now covered by Cannon Street Station.
[3] Lappenberg, *Geschichte des Stahlhofes*, ii, pp. 35–6.
[4] See pp. 50–2.
[5] *Survey*, i, 231.

ferred to in January 1485 as 'a brewhouse called the Cheker apperteyning to the Erber' and was then parcel of the Salisbury (or Neville lands);[1] this proves that the association of the Chequer with the Erber was of ancient date. In Okeley's rental the Timber-haw is described as lying between my Lady's place and an Inn or tavern called the Chequer. This would seem to indicate that the Chequer of 1520 was on the north side of the lane and towards its east end; if the lane was a thoroughfare, as Stow implies, one would not expect that any property on the south side had anciently been part of the Erber. But in Hollar's Plan of London after the Great Fire there is shown a yard which apparently blocked Carter Lane, and this may perhaps represent the Timber-haw. In that case the Chequer might have been on the south side of Carter Lane. In the Map of the Ward in Strype's *Survey* (pl. III) the Chequer Inn is thus shown with a yard of its own on the south of Chequer Lane, which was then certainly a thoroughfare; it is similarly shown in Roque's Map. A possible alternative is that after the fire of 1666 the Inn was rebuilt on the south side but with the old name. In 1520 parcel of the Chequer was let as a separate tenement to Reynold Egyllesfeld. A tenement on the north side of the back-gate was in 1520 occupied by Richard Harlyng and one on the south side by William Goldsmyth. In 1524 Luke the Painter is described as tenant of a house on the south side of the back-gate. Tenements which are particularly described as in Bush Lane are the shop of John Annot, fuller, and the tenement of Richard Haryson. The tenement of Widow Hubbard, which was afterwards occupied by John atte Bushe, goldsmith, was probably also in Bush Lane. The Account for 1539 gives in all eight tenements including the Chequer, and it seems likely that there was one by the fore-gate, two in Chequer Lane, and five in Bush Lane. The total rental throughout the period seems to have been a little over £12.

Okeley[2] in addition to being Collector of Rents was apparently Keeper of the Inn, and thus we get in his Account occasional references to repairs in the mansion: 'a groundcell for my Lady's Chamber', 'a somer pese under the gystes in the Lowe Chamber under the Great Chamber', 'bord spent in the back syde of my lady's Great Chamber for weder bordyng and pentyses', 'mendyng a wall in the bak syde of my lady's place in the Lytell Garden', 'work in my lady's Great Chamber on the great garden syde and the bak syde of the hey house', 'a dore bytwene my Lord of Mountagewes Chamber and the hey house'. From these items it appears that my Lady's Chamber was on the east side overlooking the great garden, on to which the hay-house in Chequer Lane backed. Lord

[1] Harley MS. 433, f. 203.

[2] William Okeley of London, 'gentilman, otherwise called William Okeley, citizen and barber-surgeon', by his Will, proved 25th October 1530, directed that he should be buried at St. Mary Bothawe 'before the south dore by the holy water stoppe'. *P.C.C.* 22 Jankyn.

Montagu was Henry Pole, son of the Countess; his chamber must have been at the south-east corner of the mansion, since it was near the hay-house. There were two gardens, and as the Great Garden was on the east side, it is possible that the Little Garden was at the north, adjoining the Churchyard of St. Mary Bothawe. There is record in January 1521 of 7*d.* paid for cutting the Vine, and in 1524–5 16*d.* were spent for four roots of Vines set in the garden called the Erber and for cutting the Vine. Some other items deserve mention: on 3rd July 1520, 13*s.* 4*d.* were delivered to William Kellam 'by my Lady of Salusbury's commaundement, the which he had for a tabernacle wherein [an image] of our Lady was enclosed, the which was paynted in the Erber'. Also 3*s.* 4*d.* were paid 'which my Lady gave of her pity to the man that made the old tabernacle, and gave him the old tabernacle and the said money'. 'For ij tapers of wax, one for our Lady Bothaw and another for our Lady Stanynges, weyng vj poundes: renued twyse a yere; waste and the makyng, 5*s.* 2*d.*' These torches were of course for the churches of St. Mary Bothawe and St. Mary Staining. The reason for the former is obvious. The latter may be due to some connexion with the other Neville Inn in Silver Street, which though in St. Olave's parish was close to St. Mary Staining. 'To the parson of our Lady Bothawe for offeryng of my ladys place called the Erber for a whole year 20*s.*' A chief rent of 26*s.* 8*d.* a year was payable to Bermondsey Abbey in respect of the Chequer. There were of course a variety of payments for small repairs both in the mansion and in other tenements. For paving in the street before the gates 19*s.* 8*d.* were spent, together with 2*s.* for planks for the gutter underneath the paving. In one Account there appears an item of 26*s.* 8*d.* for licences for carts in Carter Lane; this implies that the name was due not to stables but to carts standing there.

One may make a brief reference to the later history of the Erber. Philip Hoby, who appears as keeper in 1539, really held it on trust for the Drapers' Company, who had purchased it from the Crown. The Drapers let it to members of their Company, and Sir Thomas Pullison, who was Lord Mayor in 1584–5, held it on lease at that time. Stow states that he rebuilt it. In 1588 Pullison transferred his lease to Sir Francis Drake, who was an honorary freeman of the Drapers and made the Erber his London residence till 1593.[1]

In the case of the Erber we have been able to form a general idea of the plan, but with little detail. For the Coldharbour and Dudley's house we had much detail but only slight indications of the plan. In the fourth house with which I propose to deal we get both plan and detail. This was Shelley's Tenement or Bacon House in Noble Street in Aldersgate Ward. It owed its first name to the fact that it belonged to Sir Thomas Shelley, a supporter of

[1] Johnson, *History of the Drapers' Company*, ii, 152, 232.

Richard II. Henry IV granted to John Dyndon the rents and houses between the church of St. Mary, at the end of Stanynglane, and Adlyngstrete (the old name of Noble Street) which had been forfeited by Shelley. The property came again into the possession of the Crown, and in 1440 a void plot of land in the parishes of St. Mary Staynynglane and St. Olave was granted to John Doreward. Between that date and 1452 a messuage and five tenements were built thereon. The rather scanty history of Shelley's Tenement in the next hundred years is of no importance here.[1] From a Deed of 1628 in the possession of the Coachmakers' Company we learn that at one time it had belonged to 'Sir Raphe Rowlett, knight'. One Ralph Rowlett was a notable London goldsmith and colleague of Sir Martin Bowes as one of the masters of the Mint. He was connected with Hertfordshire, and in 1540 had a grant of the Manor of Gorhambury and other lands late of the Abbey of St. Albans.[2] He died in 1543, and was succeeded at Gorhambury by his son, Amphiabell Rowlett, who died in 1546. Ralph Rowlett is described in his will[3] as 'esquire', and neither there nor in Amphiabell's will[4] is there any mention of Shelley's Tenement. Amphiabell was succeeded by his brother, Ralph Rowlett the younger, from whom Sir Nicholas Bacon acquired Gorhambury in 1561. It was from him also that Bacon acquired Shelley's Tenement; probably some years earlier, since when Bacon became Lord Keeper in 1558 he went to live at York House near Westminster, where he resided till his death in 1579. There is no evidence that Ralph Rowlett was ever knighted, and we cannot be certain whether Shelley's Tenement had belonged to his father; but since Noble Street is a likely quarter for the residence of a goldsmith it is not improbable.

Stow describes Shelley's Tenement as 'now called Bacon House, because the same was new builded by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal'.[5] For the reason just given it seems probable that the rebuilding was some years before 1558. But in any case Bacon cannot have occupied the house long. William Fleetwood the Recorder dates his letters from Bacon House between 1574 and 1578, though when Stow wrote twenty years later Fleetwood had built himself a house immediately to the north. Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave, the Lord Keeper's eldest son, made a payment at Bacon House in 1585;[6] but this must have been accidental, for the house was in the occupation of Christopher Barker, the celebrated printer, before 1581. The Deed of 1628 gives Christopher and Robert Barker as the next occupants after Sir Nicholas Bacon. Acts of Parliament published in 1581 and 1585 by Christopher Barker

[1] See *London Topographical Record*, xii, 28–9.
[2] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, v, 919; xv, 733 (42).
[3] *P. C. C.* 17 Spert.
[4] *P. C. C.* 22 Alen.
[5] *Survey*, i, 304.
[6] B. M. Add. MS. 39227, f. 115*b*.

are described as 'Imprinted in Bacon House neere Foster Lane'.[1] Christopher Barker died in 1599. His son Robert may have continued to use Bacon House as his printing-house some time longer. But ultimately it passed into the possession of Nicholas Goffe the elder and Nicholas Goffe the younger.

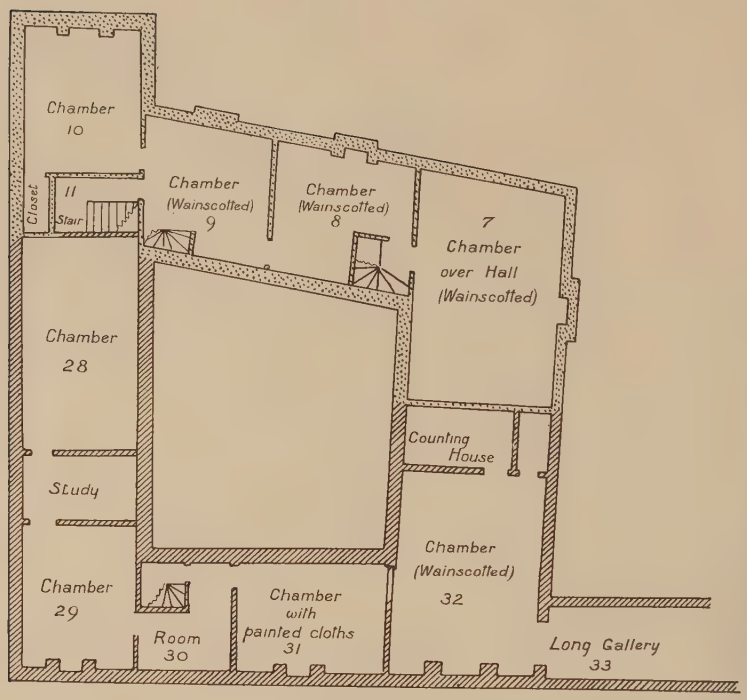
In 1612 the Crown having a claim against Nicholas Goffe the elder, a Commission was appointed to make a partition. For this purpose the Commissioners drew up a list of all the rooms, with their positions and dimensions, from which, with Mr. Emery Walker's assistance, I was able to reconstruct with tolerable certainty the plan of the ground floor. This plan was published in the *London Topographical Record* last year. Though the information which I am about to give is thus not entirely new, I am glad of an opportunity to submit a more accurate plan, together with plans of the upper floors.

From the dimensions given it was clear that the site was upwards of 120 ft. long on the south side, over 40 ft. broad at the east end, and about 70 ft. broad at the west. Since the corner of Noble Street and Oat Lane at the south-west angle is nearly rectangular, it is clear that the northern boundary must have run somewhat south of east from Noble Street. The dimensions were found to agree very closely with those of the plot between Noble Street and St. Mary Staining Church, whilst the northern side would agree approximately with the boundary between the parishes of St. Mary Staining and St. Olave, Silver Street.[2] The dimensions given for the Garden furnish the best starting-point. The Garden was 64 ft. long on the north, 66 ft. in the centre, and 69 ft. on the south. On the east it was 34 ft. wide and at the west 44 ft On the south of the Garden was a covered walk 8 ft. wide. We thus obtain the shape of the Garden and the angle of the east side of the house. Next in importance for a restoration of the plan are the dimensions of the Court, 28 ft. on the north, 27 ft. on the east, 32 ft. on the west, and 26 ft. on the south. The approximate directions of all four sides being known, it was easy to determine the precise shape of the Court. The arrangement of the ground-floor rooms—except at one point—then offered, as I have said, little difficulty. But on the first and garret floors there were difficulties which required expert architectural knowledge. Mr. Peers very kindly gave me his assistance, and in his solution of these difficulties found a clue to a better plan of the ground floor (fig. 1).[3] The division of the Garden was from the middle point of the east front of the house, and the line thus obtained when prolonged westwards would divide the Court in the manner described by the Commission and pass through the centre

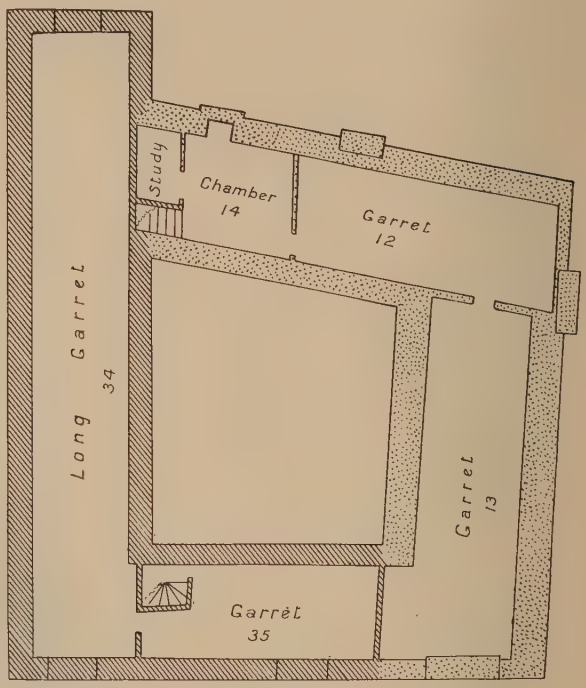
[1] Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, ii, 1081, 1085.

[2] Consequently it included less than the void plot granted to Doreward in 1440.

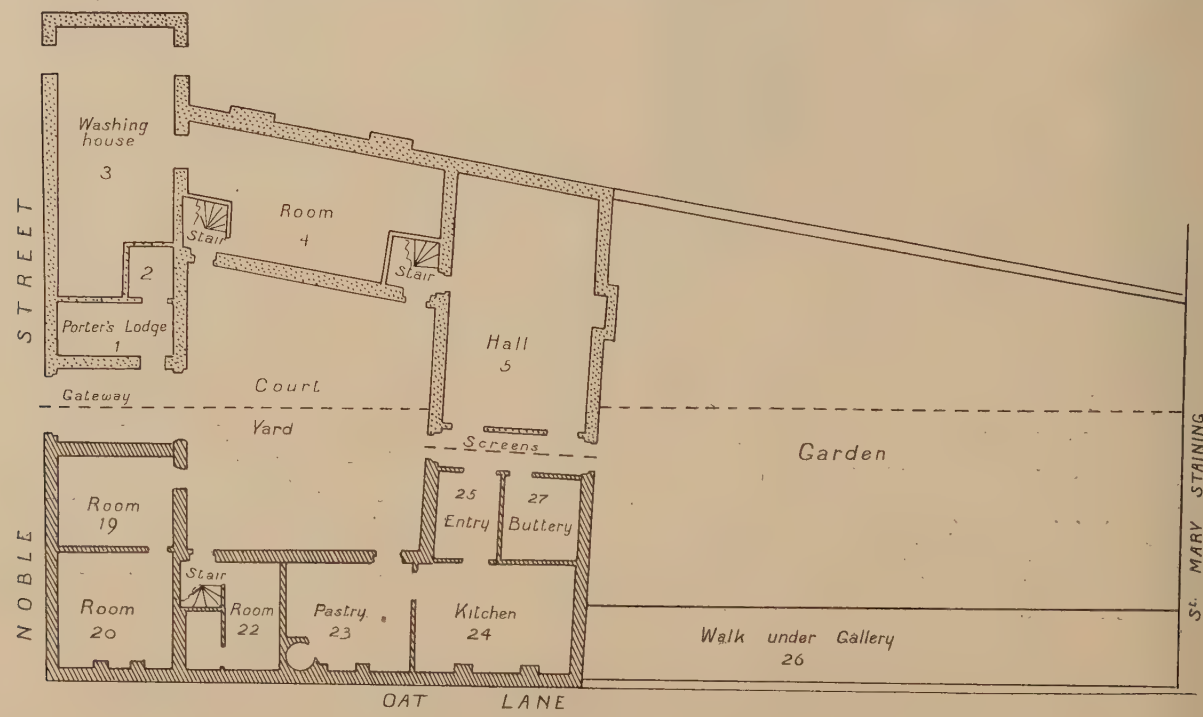
[3] It will be understood that the plans here given are a conjectural reconstruction based on the Report of the Commission, and as such cannot be precisely accurate in all details.



First-floor plan.



Garret plan.



Ground-floor plan.

Fig. 1. Plans of Bacon House. Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

The shading shows the division of the several floors in 1612.

of the Gate. The line, however, passed through the south end of the Hall, and the division of the east block therefore seems to have passed through the Screens, though they are not specifically mentioned.

In describing the ground floor it will be most convenient to begin with the south part. Next the Gate on the south side was a room 13 ft. by 10 ft., and next adjoining that on the same south side another room 13 ft. square. On the south of the Court were a little room, 12 ft. square, leading to a House of Office, and the Pastery, 14 ft. by 12 ft. Next the Pastery were the Kitchen, 17 ft. by 12 ft., and a Little Entry leading to the Hall and a Buttery about 9 ft. square on its north side. The Screens, as stated, are not specifically mentioned, probably because they became under the division a common passage-way. The Hall was 28 ft. by 17 ft., and on the north side of the Court was a large room, 30 ft. by 14 ft. Thus far, after making allowance for the fact that the dimensions given are internal, and probably only approximate, no difficulty arose. But in the north-west corner space had to be found for three rooms—a Little Room on the north side of the Gate, 12 ft. by 6 ft., another Little Room next thereto, 6 ft. by 5 ft., and a Washing-house or Kitchen, 30 ft. 6 in. by 11 ft. 6 in. Unless the building had projected northwards as shown on the plan the Washing-house would have occupied the whole of the Noble Street front north of the Gate, as shown in my own plan; but the requirements of the upper floors pointed to the existence of this extension, which is confirmed by the fact that a plan made in 1703 shows that there was a frontage of 72 ft. to Noble Street. There were three staircases in the house, two in the north part and one in the south; the two north corners and the south-west corner of the Court appear to be the probable positions.

On the first floor the principal difficulties are the width of 16 ft. given for the Chamber over the Gate and the Chamber with a Little Closet at the north-west corner. The most likely solution for the former is that there was a large bay window above the Gate and that the Commissioners gave the extreme width into this bay: this is more likely than that there was a jetty, which would not have fitted in with the architectural features. The Chamber over the Gate had a little Study on the south. At the south-west corner was a Chamber, 16 ft. by 13 ft., then a Little Room with a House of Office (over that of the ground floor) which was 13 ft. by 11 ft. or thereabouts. Next it on the south side of the Court was a Chamber hung with painted cloths, 18 ft. by 14 ft. On the east side of the Court were a Chamber, wainscotted, 23 ft. by 16 ft. 6 in., with a Counting House and House of Office; the two latter would come approximately over the Screens. Over the Hall was a fair large Chamber, wainscotted, 26 ft. by 16 ft. 6 in. On the west of this Chamber was a Chamber 16 ft. by 14 ft., and then another 16 ft. by 13 ft.; these two rooms, both of which were wain-

scotted, just fit the north side of the Court. Then we come to the north-west corner, where space has to be found for a Chamber 16 ft. by 13 ft., with a Little Closet, and for a room leading to two garrets only 10 ft. by 6 ft.; for this the northward projection of the west wing, if not absolutely essential, furnishes the most easy solution.

On the garret floor there were four garrets, those on the west, south, and east sides 11 ft. wide, and that on the north 12 ft. wide. The west garret was 68 ft. long, and to provide for it the northward extension is essential. The south and east garrets, 26 ft. and 40 ft. long, fit easily; the east garret is peculiarly described as 'sealed'. On the north of the building, in addition to the garret (30 ft. by 12 ft.), was 'a chamber, unwainscotted, with a chimney, situate over the aforesaid room, which leadeth to the said garrets'; this can only be explained by supposing that the stairs led up from the Little Room into this Chamber. This last chamber was 18 ft. by 12 ft. and had a little Study.

On the ground floor the Garden had on its south side a Walk, 69 ft. by 8 ft., and above the Walk on the first floor was a Gallery of the same dimensions, with a chimney. It is interesting to find that at Sir Nicholas Bacon's country-house at Gorhambury he built a very similar Gallery over a Walk.[1] There were two cellars; one under the Hall, 24 ft. by 11 ft., and the other under the range south of the Gate, 18 ft. by 12 ft.

Shortly after the division of 1612 the whole of Bacon House was acquired by George Smythes, a London goldsmith and alderman. Smythes died on 11th July 1615; in his will[2] dated 24th February 1614-15 he refers to his dwelling-house called Bacon House, and directs that the two recognizances and an extent held by his son-in-law, Christopher Eyre, shall be assigned to such person as his son Arthur shall appoint when he shall be at his full age. Arthur Smythes presumably died young, for on 10th June 1628 his mother Sara, then wife of Sir Arthur Savage, of Eardington, Beds., joined with her husband, and Thomas, Viscount Savage, and Richard Millard, goldsmith, in the sale of Bacon House for £810 to Charles Bostock, scrivener.[3] Millard was one of George Smythes'

[1] *Victoria County History, Hertfordshire*, ii, 395.

[2] *P. C. C.* 67 Rudd.

[3] I am indebted to the Rev. H. G. Rosedale, D.D., F.S.A., Past-Master of the Coachmakers' Company, for an opportunity to inspect this and other deeds. The recital describes the house as: 'All that great messuage or Tenement with a garden . . . sometymes in the tenure or occupation of Sir Raphe Rowlett, knight, and sithence . . . of Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight, late Lord Keeper . . . and after of Christopher Barker, esquier, and Robert Barker, gent., . . . and of Nicholas Goffe the elder and Nicholas Goffe the younger, and late in the occupation of Dame Sara Savage and George Egilshawe, Doctour in Physick . . . which messuage &c. were heretofore known by the name of Shelleys Tenement and now or late called by the name of Bacon House, and doe abutt uppon the parish church of St. Mary Stanynge and the churchyard of the same church on the east part, and uppon Little Silver Street on the west part, Oate Lane on the south part, and a messuage late parcel of the possessions of the Abbot and Convent of Westminster on the north part.'

executors, and he and Viscount Savage were presumably feoffees of the house. Bostock was clearly acting for his Company, for on 11th October 1631 he made a lease to several scriveners, by whom, on 9th July 1642, the property was formally transferred to the Company. On the last occasion it is stated that in 1631 the messuage was and now is divided into two several messuages, one in the occupation of Josias Tulley, gent., and the residue used by the Scriveners for their Common Hall or meeting-place. Scriveners' Hall was burnt in the Great Fire of 1666 and afterwards rebuilt. In 1694 it is described as lately erected at the cost of the Society on a toft, whereon lately stood a house called Bacon House and since called Scriveners' Hall, with a Court and Garden and four new-built messuages facing Noble Street, two being on the north of the gateway and two on the south. In 1703 the Scriveners, being in financial straits, sold the

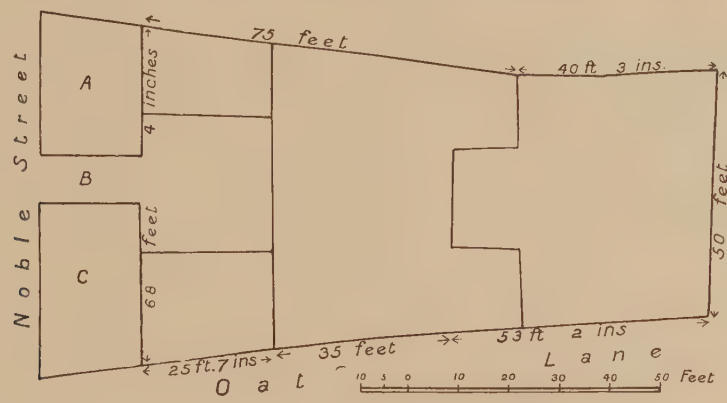


Fig. 2. Diagram of Coachmakers' Hall.

premises except the Noble Street frontage to the Coachmakers, who still have their Hall on the site, the houses facing Noble Street remaining in the possession of the Scriveners. The deed of 1703 is accompanied by a plan, here reproduced (fig. 2), which shows that the new building had been erected on different lines and extended over a considerable part of the garden. At the time of rebuilding some slight extensions of the site appear to have been obtained towards the north; the breadth at the east end is now figured as 50 ft., and the irregular space formed by the projection of the western block (as given in the plan on p. 34) does not appear.

So complete a reconstruction of the plan of a house long since destroyed has seemed worth putting on record. The smallness of the garden is noteworthy; those at the Coldharbour and at Dudley's house can have been only a little larger, though at the Erber there is the possibility of more considerable open spaces. The site of the Coldharbour was perhaps three-quarters of an acre, that of the Erber somewhat less; in both the greater part of the ground must have been covered

with buildings and courts. The sites of Dudley's house and of Bacon House were both very much smaller; the former about a third larger than the latter. In shape and proportion the two latter sites were curiously alike, and one may conjecture that one of the galleries at Dudley's house ran down the garden side in a manner similar to the gallery at Bacon House. At the Coldharbour we know that there was a court at the south-east corner, which was apparently of considerable size (as such courts go); having regard to the shape of the site and the great number of rooms it is likely that there was more than one court. At the Erber there were two gates, but we have not sufficient information as to the size of the actual house to form a definite opinion about the courts; the eighteenth-century maps show, however, two open spaces on the site, and bearing in mind the conservative character of buildings it is not unlikely that they represent ancient courts. Dudley's house had also two gates, but here there seems no reason for a second court, and the second gate may have been no more than a back door. Even at the Coldharbour and Erber the courts were in all likelihood of modern dimensions; but the Court at Bacon House, which was less than 30 ft. square, was probably much the smallest in any of these houses.

[1] For purpose of comparison we may take the Front Court at Crosby Hall, which was approximately 60 ft. by 40 ft.

I. INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF EDMUND DUDLEY

1509.

This Inventory is given in an Indenture contained in *Exchequer* (K. R.) Inventories 2/17, which is here printed in full.

THIS ENDENTURE tripartited made the xvij daye of the moneth of August, the first yere of the Reigne of our Soueraign lorde Kyng Henry the viijth Bytwene the same our Soueraign lorde of thone partie, and Syr Henry Marny, knyght, on the secounde parte, and Syr John Dygby, knyght, on the thirde partie: Witnessith that where our seid Soueraign lorde lately commaunded the seid Syr John to entre into the hous late of Edmunde Dudeley set in the parisshe of Seynt Swithuns beside London Stone in Candelwykestrete of London, and all the plate, Juelles, goodes, Writynges, billes and other stuff thenne there being, whiche late were and apperteyned to the seid Edmunde before he was atteynted of treason and nowe apperteynyng to our seid Soueraign lorde, to take and entre in a Cedule, and saveley to take in his possession and kepe to thuse of our seid Soueraign lorde: Which the same Syr John hath soe doone, and the seid Juelles, stuff and Wrytinges in his possession and kepyng remayne the daye of thies presentes to thuse of our seid Souereyn lorde: Yt is to be knowen by thies presentes that the seid Syr Henry Marny the daye of the date herof for and on the behalf of our seid Soueraign lorde and by his commaundment hath receyved of the same Syr John all the seid goodes, Juelles, Writynges and other stuff in the seid Cedule conteyned saveley to kepe to thuse of our seid Soueraign lorde: and therof and of euery parcell therof our seid Soueraign lorde dischargeth the seid Syr John and his Executours by thies presentes; all which parcelles so by the seid Syr Henry receyved particulerly herafter ensue, that is to sey:—

FFYRST IN THE HALL: an old hangyng of Arys at the hye deace: a cup bourde: a long bourd: ij trestelles: ij ioyned fourmes: a closhe bourd, couered ouer with greyn cloth.

THE GRET PARLOURE: a hangyng of grene bukkeram and rede, palye: a litell Wache: a tostyng forke: a payr of Aundyrons: ij fyer forkes: a payr of tonges: a fyre schowell: a fyre rake: a Skreyn of Wykers: a table: iij joyned formes: a cupbord: a ffrensh chare: ij courteyns of grene saye hangyng in the Wynddowys.

In THE LYTELL PARLOUR: a bourd: a payr of foldyng trestelles: iij joyned fourmes: a cupbourd: a ffrensh chare: ij curteyns of grene saye, hangyng in the Wynddowes: ij smale Aundyrons.

In THE COUNTYNG-HOWSE WITHIN THE LITELL PARLOUR: xxij pewter dishes, also glasses and bottelles of be 3ounde see makyng.

In THE LONG GALERRE AGAYN THE GARDYNNE: a hangyng of blewe and 3elowe buckeram, palye: ij stayned clothes of ymagerie: a carpett: a cupbourd: a table: ij foldyng trestelles: a ffrensh chare.

In THE SQUARE CHAMBOUR NEXT TO THE GALARYE: a hangyng of blewe and rede buckeram, palye: a bedde of white ffustian, ffrengyd with bellys of wode and gylt: iij curteyns of white lynnen cloth: a ffether bed: a bolster: v pelowis: a payr of fustiaunce: a counterpoynt of tapstre werke: a litell auter cloth of Arys, steynyd, in a frayme, with a litell courteyn of whit and blake palye afore ytt: iij carpettes: ij cupbordes: a ffrensh chayre: a cloos chaire: a litell joyned fourme: a stole: a closse presse, wherin ys this stuff folowyng, a pece of fyne counterfett Arys, ij counterpoyntes of riche Arys, a hangyng of a Chambre of skarlett lyned with lynnen cloth, ix peces of them, ij remnandes of buckeram, one of blewe and the oder of 3elowe.

In A LYTELL CHAMBER WITHIN THE SEID SQUARE CHAMBER: a hangyng, and a white selar of a bed.

In THE LITELL SQUARE CHAMBRE: a hangyng of iij peces of grene saye: a rounde table.

In THE LITELL HOWSE FOR THE BOWES: vij^{xx} and xvij bowes: xxxv^{ti} shevys of arowes: a baskett wherin ys a barde: a horse harnes of be3ounde see makyng: a Sprewes coffer, wherin is a kyppe of bugie,[1] xxij skynnes of sables, also as many sables of bakes and belys as will furre a gown: a litell coffer with Writynges: a couffer with evydence, sealid: a grett rounde table.

In THE ARMORE CHAMBRE: xij compleytt harnes, lackyng one hede pece: ij plackardes[2]: vj Restes, Charnelles[3] and Vysus, I cannot tell howe many, for they be not all sett out: also other harnesse for yomen after the Almayn fassion, with salettes, splentes, standardes: after the manner of Englond xlj harnesses: x other harnes, that is not complet: xxx payr of splentes[4]: xxx payr of breganders[5] couerd with ffustian: xxix salettes to them: ij payr of breganders for hym self, on of blak velvyt with gylt nayle and gylt bokyll, the other of crymeson velvytt sett with rose naylle and crownes gylt abowte ytt: a standard,[6] a payr of gussettes[7] and a fall of mayle,[8] fyne, for hymself: xvj payr of splentes: lx blak bylles: xxvij whit cottes gardyd with grene frenge: iiij flat crosse bowis and ij rakes.[9]

In THE GALARRE NEXT TO THE GREAT CHAMBRE: a hangyng of grene and rede buckeram, palye: ij curteyns hangyng in the Wynddowes of grene say: ij carpettes: a cupbourd: a long joyned forme: a ffrensh chayre: a coffer with byllys and boxis with evidence: a fyre fork: a littell aundyron.

In THE GRET CHAMBRE: a selar: a testar of bawidken enbrodrid: a ffederbed: a bolster: a payr of fustiaunce: a counterpoynt of verders: a hangyng of vij paynes of course tapstree werk: ij courteyns of grene say hangyng in the wynddowes: ij short carpettes: a long carpett: a cupbourd: a round borde: a table: a payr of trestelles: a long joyned fourme: iij short joyned fourmes: a stolle and a aundyron: a Sprewis Coffer, wherin is a carpet, ij doblettes of blak tynsell sathan, ij doblettes of crymeson saten, a doblytt of black sathen, a doblytt of grene tynsell sathen, a doblytt of crymeson velvyt, a doblytt of purpull saten, iiij quarters of a gown of old black damaske, a jakett of crymeson saten furred with sable pollys, a jaket of blake velvyt lyned with tawny saten, a gowne of blake saten lyned with tawny velvytt, a gown of blake saten furred with buge, a gowne of blake velvyt furred with boge, a gown of blak velvytt furred with marturns, a gown of ffrensh bak lyned with blake velvett, a gown of crymeson velvytt vnlynyd, a gown of blak velvyt lyned with black sarsinett, a gown of blak chamlett lynyd with blak sarsnett, a syngle old gown of crymeson velvytt, a rydyng gown of blak velvytt lynyd with blak saten, ij gownes of blak cloth lyned with sarsnett, a gown of ffrensh blak furred with martryns. A gret coffer with ij lyddes; wherin ys a sparver of purpull velvytt with curteyns of blewe sarsenett. A sparuer of blewe sarsenett. A counterpoynt of blewe sarsenett lyned with blewe buckeram. A sparver of rede sarsenett with a canape of rede sylke knyt, enbrodrid about the skyrttes of the canape with sleydes.[10] A sperver of crymeson cloth of gold and grene and crymeson saten, fugrie palie. A selar and tester of blak and 3elowe damaske; iij curteyns to the same of blak and 3elowe sarsenett. Also a seler, a tester, courteyns, a counterpoynt of popynjaye and blonkett, palie, for a trussyng bed. iij Whit curteyns of sarsenett. A counterpoynt of bawdkyn, enbrodrid, for the bed in the Gret Chambre. iij quyltes; one of blonket sarsenett of diaper werk, and the other of rede sarsnett and 3elowe palye, and the thyrde of

[1] A hide of budge, or lambskin.
[2] Or 'placates': reinforcing pieces to breastplate.
[3] 'Restes' and 'Charnelles' were parts of head-pieces, but their exact meaning is doubtful.
[4] Splints, jambs for the lower leg.
[5] Coats of small metal plates riveted between textiles.
[6] A standing collar of mail.
[7] Mail fastened under the armpit, for protection.
[8] The skirt or breach of mail.
[9] Machines for winding up the crossbows.
[10] Sleided silk is raw untwisted, or flat, silk.

rede sarsenett. A pece of Ray staynell with dyvers coloures. A long cussion and ij short cussions of crymeson and blewe velvytt. A cussion of purpull velvytt. ij Cussions, the on syde of crymeson damaske and the oder syde blak saten. vij peces of ymagerie, enbrodrid for the monethes of the yere, to set upon a cloth. A coffer with on lydd: wherin ys a payr of fustiaunce, a nold seler and tester with ij curteyns of whit lynnen cloth, vj payr of shettes, v litell stayned clothes, iiij table clothes of diaper, viij towelles, a xj napkyns of diapur.

The Closett within the same Chambre, wherin ys conteyned diuers evidence and other writynges aswell belongyng to the seid Edmunde Dudeley as to dyuers other persons: also a bagg wherin ys iij bylles and vij li. in gold: in a nold purse is an obligacion of Symond West and Robert Covyngton of the town of Bedford of xx li., paiable at the ffeast of all seyntes next commyng: and in the same purse in gold xx li., the which is to the Kynges vse.

In The Gret Wardrope. iij ffether beddes, ij b[olsters], ij pelowis, a trussyng bedstede: xiij smale carpettes: vj gret carpettes: xxiij Cussions of carpett werk: a banercloth of my lorde Lyells armes, of wollyn frengid: iij curteyns: iij smale peces of grene saye: ij pessys off verders with Edmunde Dudeley armes and the lord Lyelles armes matchid together: a seler and a tester of tapestre wreke (*sic*) lyned with blewe canvas: a seler of tapestre werke lyned with canvas: a counterpoynt of fyne grene verders, lyned with canvas: ij old peces of Arys: a pece of Arys, which hangid in the Grett Parloure: a counterpoynt of tapestre werke, with dyuers Kynges armes vpon ytt: a pece of Arys, which hangyd ouer the Chymney in the Grett Parloure: iii peces of tapstre werke, vnlyned: ij peces of tapstre werk, lyned with canvas: a couerlytt: ij payre of blankettes: ij paynes of a skrene of bras: a smale joyned fourme: a gret sadyll, couered with buff lether: a flatt sadyll couerd with blake lether: iij couerynges for cussions of carpett werke.

The Litell Wardrope. v old gownes, vnlyned: a old nyght gown, furred with ffox: a gown cloth of blak: viijth smale remnanttes of cloth: a payr of trestelles: a table of Spaynysshe makyng: a closse presse: half a jowrnett of whit Damaske: a blake gowne, furred with marturn pollys: a russet gown, furred with foynes: a gown of blak chamlett, furred with blake cony: ij old curteyns of taffetae: a quylt of crymeson and grene saten Abrygis: a quylte of crymeson sarsynett: a Sumpter cloth with Dudeley armes: a boke of the Statutes, writen: ij bokes and a litell boke in ffrensh, prentid: a sperver of grene Damaske and whit cloth of gold of bawidken: ij Remnanttes of buckeram, the on of them ys rede, and the oder grene: a sadyll house of blak velvytt: iiij new bonettes: ij gardevyaunce, wherin be dyuers obligacions concernyng the Kyng, and other evydence and writynges concerning to other persons: a coffer with bylles and writynges: a empte trounke.

In The Closett withoute the Litell Wardrop dore. A fflagon of syluer, of a potell and more, weyng lxxvij onces: ij pottes of syluer, parcell gylt, of a potell a pece large, weyng cxliij onces and a half: a standyng cuppe, chasid, parcell gylt, weyng xxij^{ti} onces: vj renyshe cruseis, chasid, parcell gylt, with one keueryng, weyng xxvij onces and iij quarters: ij renysshe cruseis, chasid, parcell gylt, with one keueryng, weyng xiiij onces and a quarter: iij candelstekes with brochis, parcell gylt, weyng lix onces and a half: a layr of berall, garnessid with syluer and gylt, broken: v spones of syluer, with gylt knoppis, weyng vj onces and a half: vj gylt spones, with wodehowse at the endes, weyng vj onces and a half: a standyng cuppe of syluer and gylt, chasid, parcell enameld with Images of Kynges, weyng lxxxix onces: a standyng gylt cuppe with a keuer, chasid with Dudeley armes in the bothom, weyng xxxiij^{ti} onces: a standyng gylt cuppe with a kevour, chasid, weyng xxxiij onces and iij quarters: a standyng gylt cup with a keuer, chasid, weyng xxxj onces and a half: a standyng gylt cuppe with a keuer, chasid with doppis, weyng xxiiij onces and a half: a standyng gylt cuppe with a keuer, chasid with doppis, weyng xxiiij onces and a half: a renyshe crues, gylt, with a keuer gravyn with rose fflowres de lewse and pourtcolys, weyng xij onces and a half: a salt with a keuer, gylt, weyng xx^{ti} onces: broken syluer, weyng viij onces and a half: a smale gylt cruett, chasid, weyng ij onces and a half: a

gylt goblytt, with a keuer with writhes, weyng xij onces and a half: a gylt goblytt, keuerd with flowre de lyce in the keuer, weyng xix onces and a half: a gylt goblytt, couerd, chasid, weyng xiij onces and a quarter: ij gylt fflagons, chasid, weyng a cxxxvij^{ti} onces: ij gylt pottes, chasid with Dudeley Armes in the keuerynges, weyng lxxxxix onces: ij gret gylt pottes chasid with Dudeley Armes in the keuerynges, weyng clxxxxiij onces: ij pottes chasid, parcell gylt, with columbyns in the keuerynges, weyng cxxxiij^{ti} onces and a half: a bason and a ewre parcell gylt with my lady Liells armes vpon ytt, weyng lxxxvj onces: an old playn goblytt, parcell gylt, weyng vij onces: xj spones wherof on of them gylt, weyng x onces iij quarters: a hole pece of crymeson cloth of gold of bawidken: another pece of white cloth of gold of bawidken, conteynyng xxix yerdes: a hole pece of blewe cloth of gold of bawidken: a remnand of crymeson cloth of gold of bawidken, conteynyng vj yerdes: a course pece of cloth of gold, conteynyng viij yerdes and a halfe: a smale carpett: ij cussions of carpett werk.

In The Lowe Galare by the Gardeyn. xx^{ti} sperys: a harnes barell: a cloos carre with whellys, and all thynges apperteynyng therto: a cartlode of old lede, by estimacion: a coueryng of lether for a cart: a coffer wherin bylles and other writynges be.

The Gret Galare at thende of that. lxxix brode white clothes: xxj bagges of peper: ij bagges of garvelyng of peper, of no value: v old coffers with evidence, as they say: x remnandes of coton: xlvj bagges of alome: xxvj elles of canvas, yerd brode.

In My Ladye Litton Chambre. A counterpoynt of verders, lyned with canvas: a cupbourde.

In The Buttre. vj diaper table clothes, wherof iij be new, and iij old: iiij old table clothes of diapur: xj table clothes playn, wherof v of them be courser then the other: ij ewre clothes of diapur: iiij courser ewre clothes: x towelles of diapur: ij keuer paynes: xij napkyns of diapur: v lether pottes: x candelstykes: iiij hoghedes of rede wyne: ij hoggeshedes of clarett wyne.

The Kechyne. vij gret spyttes: iiij smale spyttes: vij pannes, gret and smale: ij frying pannes: a peill of yron: ij ladelles of bras: ij dressyng knyves: ij trevyttes: iiij rackes: a brasyn morter with a pestell: a stone morter with a pestell: a fflesh hoke: ij pothokes: a grethyron: a fyre shovell: a skemour: ij gret pottes: viij smale pottes: a gratur: a gret ketyll: iij smale ketylles: a dryppyng pan: xxxv potagers: xxj plates: xxiij sawsers: a chargoure: a water tankerd.

Signed Harry Marny
John Dygby.

On a slip attached:

Into witnes wherof to thone parte of this indentur remaynyng with our seid soueraign lorde the seid syr Henry and syr John haue putte their sealles.[1] To the two oder partes of this indentur, wherof one remaynyng with the seid syr Henry, our seid soueraign lorde hath sygned with his most gracious hande, and to the same parte the seid syr John hath putte his seall. And to the thyrde parte, remaynyng with the seid syr John, our seid soueraign lorde hath also sygned with his most gracious hande, and to the same parte the seid syr Henry hath putte his seale, the day and yere aboueseid.

Endorsed:

Item a Indenture made by King Henry the viij, Syr Henry Marny and John Dygby, Knightes.

And in another later hand:

Dudleys goodes: an Inventory therof.

[1] Both seals remain, but so fractured and defaced as to prevent description.

II. REPAIRS AT THE COLDHARBOUR

1485.

This Account is contained in *Accounts Exchequer* (K.R.) 474/3. The original book had eighteen leaves of paper, but numerous documents—actual accounts of the tradesmen, receipts, etc.—have been attached. There is a parchment cover, on the inside of which is a record of briefs issued by the Treasurer's Remembrancer in 8 Edward IV (1468–9) to the Escheator of Shropshire. Litley's Account here given is referred to in a document printed in *Materials for the History of Henry VII*, i, 475, under date 29th June 1486:

'Where of late oure trusty and welbeloued servaunt Thomas Lytley, late oone of the customers of the subsidie of iij *s.* in the tonne and xij *d.* of the lb. in oure poorts of London, by oure commaundement by mouthe, hathe spent and employed upon certaine reparacions and bildinges within oure place called Cold Harburghe in oure Citie of London aforesaid, the somme of iiij^{xx} viij *li.* xviij *s.* ij *d.*, as in a boke of parcelles concernyng the saide reparacions dothe appere.'

The order for payment follows. From the Account it appears that Litley had died early in 1486.

The Account is too long to print the whole, and many items are of small importance. All that are of interest for the house are given, and some accounts like those of the two glaziers are printed in full.

On the Cover. Liber de Parcellis Reparacionum factarum super placeam siue hospicium vocatum Coldeherburgh in London per mandatum domini Regis Henrici VII^{mi} Thome Litley, Supervisori earundem Reparacionum, attribut. Anno regni eiusdem domini Regis primo.

f. 1. A Bill endented, Thomas Roggers; *as below.*

f. 2. Thes be the parcelles of Reparacions or other empcions made and done att Coldherberugh in the tyme of Thomas Roggers and Thomas Litley, ouerseers ther; paid by the said Thomas Litley of the some of vij *li.* ij *s.* viij *d.*, which the said Thomas Roggers deliuered to the said Thomas Litley by a bill endented by commaundement of my lady the Kynges moder in the monyth of September, the first yere of regne of Kyng Harry the vijth.

Sol. per Thomam Litley. In primis for xij bundelles of rushes, xviij *d.* Item, to William Barnard for j C. of quarter bord of oke, ij *s.* viij *d.* Item, to the same William for another C. of large quarter bord of oke, iij *s.* iiij *d.*

There then follow entries of purchases from John Davy, carpenter *and* Robert Westwode, smythe, *which are given more fully on* ff. 14 *and* 28.

Other items on f. 2 *include*: Carriage of bordes from Banardes Castell to Coldharburugh j *d.* Carriage of dung by water from Coldharburugh to Parych Garthyn by ij lyghters. ij long wanescottes bought of Thomas Roggers, v *s.* 49 fote of latys, price of a fote, iij *d.*

f. 3. A tyler's account. *Scored through as entered on* f. 7. *Payments were made in* October *and* November.

f. 4. These be the parcelles of the Reparacions doon within the place of Coldherber by my lady the Kynges mother, the xxvij day of September, payed by Thomas Litley, ouerseer of the same.

The entries on f. 4 *are chiefly wages of* Carpenters, masons *and* daubers *at* 8*d. a day. Other items are*: To ij men which bereth xx lodes fagottes and talow[1] woode from the stere[2] to the place with cowchyng of the same, xviij *d.* A laborer which dyd find the masshon of morter, watter and of all such thynges accordyng to the same crafte, iij dayes, xv *d.* To Hermon the

[1] Or 'tal-wood', wood cut up for fuel; a rendering of the Old French 'bois de tail'.
[2] Perhaps the stairs at the Water-gate.

glasyer for the mendyng of the Gret Chamber glasses wyndowes, the which glassier tok a gret [1] of Thos. Roggers and Thos. Litley, ouerseers to the same, in gret: (*original defective*). A gardiner ij days, xvj *d.* A laborer workyng and dressing the hyerbes for the gardenes, ij days, ix *d.* Another gardiner, j day, viij *d.* A mason mendyng of the gret chambre upon the Water side, iij days ij *s.*

f. 5. *Similar entries of wages.* A gardener and his child. John Cosin, mason, for the makyng of an owen, for which the said Cosin took a gret, iij *s.* iiij *d.*

f. 6. *Wages*—26 Oct.—*of* Carpenters, daubers, labourers, tilers. ij Carpenters which dyd make the fourmes of the seid halle, xvj *d.* A laborer for carriage of dung from the stable of Coldherber to the waterside.

f. 7. *Wages*—November—*of* tilers, labourers, daubers, masons. xxvj of Rouff tylle, xx *d.* M of tylle, v *s.* Half of a bushel of tylle pynnys, iij *d.*

f. 8. An account by John Cosyn, mason, for 17*s.* 9*d.*

f. 9. *Attached is* A bille of John Laurence, joynour, dwellynge in the parysh of Seynt James at Garlik hythe in London: To my lady the Kynges Moder. *This and Cosyn's bill have both been entered on* f. 9 *by Litley.*

Joynour's account. A tabyl and a payr of traystelles, vj *s.* viij *d.* vij Stolles, v *s.* iij *d.* Makyng of ij peces of lateyces at Coltherber, xlvij fote, price the fote iij *d.*,—xj *s.* ix *d.* iiij panys of lateyces, liiij fote, xiij *s.* vj *d.* iij peces of lateyces seten in the Steward chamber,[2] v *s.* A pece of latyce in the countynghouse, ij *s.* v *d.* For furvyng of viij soylles [3] of the Wyndow, wher the seid new lateyces are set, xij *d.* ij long Wannyscotes bought for the Gate at Coltherber, ij *s.* iiij *d.* ij Fourmes for the Chapell at Coltherber, ij *s.* viij *d.* A Tabyll and a payre of Traystelles, v *s.* A close chayre for my lady, v *s.* Makyng a fourme, for fyndyng of the fete and the lancelles therto for the Controllers Chamber. For departyng of ij gret chestes and joynyng ayen of the same, which are now setten in the Wardrobe at Coldherber, xij *d.* A pece of latthys standing in the hey [4] wyndow ouer my lord of Bokynghames loging, contayning xv fote, iij *s.* ix *d.*[5]

f. 10. Thomas Bartram, plomer, to my lady, the Kynges moder. *This is entered* on f. 11 *where* Bartram *is described as* dwellyng in Cannel strete.

f. 11. *Payments for* sawder, lead, lead pipes. Repayr of leddes aboue the chamber of the Clerk of the Kytchyn, *and* aboue Master Stewards Chamber. C.C. a quarteron and x lb. of lede for the cuuerryng of boyllyng kettyll, xvj *s.* iiij *d.* ob. vj lb. of sowder for the sowdryng of the same ketyll, iij *s.* *The total of the bill was* 56*s.* 2½*d.*, paid on 4th December 1485. *Attached is a further bill for* lead and sawder at my Lady's place, with an allowance of 121 lb. of old lead; *this bill includes* a 'pype for a chemney'.

f. 12. Here foloweth the parcelles that Johan Baylle hath layed doon and payed for the Reparacions of the Place of Coldherborough. *Purchases of material* e.g. On 16 Sept. Cole bought for colouryng of the Wallys, xv *d.*, iiij dozain of Motie, bought for to colour the Walles, xij *d.* *There are several other purchases of* Cole and Motie *or* Motty; *one is* vj dysches of Cole, vj *d.* *Other purchases are of nails*: Hors nayle for the mantell of the kychyn. Nales for the kytchyn wyndow. v *d.* nayle for the Great Chamber to nayle Crestes for Tapettes, v *d.*

f. 13. These are the parcelles of Thomas Benkes, carpenter, dwellyng uppon Crepulgate in parochia Sancti Alphege. *Scored and entered on* f. 14.

f. 14. Purchase of timber, plankbord, &c. 'for the reparacions to be made at Coldherber in Maister Fowlers Chamber, the porters logge' and other chambers. 'Legges for the window of the porters logge' and 'ij fylettes for the same house' and planking for forms and tables. 'ij beddes redy maad iiij *s.* viij *d.* A table set in the porters logge, xvj *d.* An asshyn table set in the Eaury in Coldherber for the wexchaundellers, v *s.* vj *d.*

[1] A contract to work by quantity.
[2] Laurence calls it 'the Stewards logyng'.
[3] Laurence, 'faring of viij sallis'.
[4] Laurence, 'in the high wyndow'.
[5] The total of the joiner's bill, which was paid on 7th April 1486, was 70*s.* 6*d.*

f. 14 *b*. Parcells of John Davy, carpenter. A dressing bord of elmen for the larder of x fote, iiij *s*. ij bordes of beche for the larder, eche borde conteynyng in length x fote and in bred j fote di., the pece xviij *d*. ij new dressing bordes of elmyn for the kytchyn, eche conteynyng in length x fote and in bred ij fote di., the pece iiij *s*. A dressyng-borde of elmen for the Kytchin xij fote long, v *s*. xx quarter of oke, iij *s*. iiij *d*. A C. quarter borde of oke iij *s*. A C. of elmen borde occupied abute the Chambers in the Sege Ale, ij *s*. iiij *d*. ij long raylles occupied in the garden abute the Vynnes, pris for euery pece v *d*. A grete pece of tymber which was sawed for the lynyng of the gate, xlvij fete, price the fote, ij *d*. To v carpenters in mendyng of a spyre[1] in the hall and settyng up of the dressing bordes in the kytchin and making shelves[2] in the larder, iij *s*. iiij *d*. For caryage of the forsaid quarters and dressyng-bordes from Lymestrete to Coldherber in ij lodes, viij *d*. For iij new dores, one in the entre of the Seege Alley, another for the Halle next the Vyne vpon the garden side, and the third for my lord of Bokynghams chamber, price of eche dore iij *s*. iiij *d*. The total was lix *s*. iij *d*.

f. 15. Billa parcellarum Johannis Davy, carpentar. *Davy's own account.*

f. 16. The Glasier callid Nicholas Hawkyn. For iiij olde casys newe glasyd ouer the garden on the water syde, euery case conteynyng v fote saff a quarter; the content of the hole is xviij fote and iij quarters of a fote: takyng for euery fott, in all, vij *s*. xj *d*.

Item, for the mendyng and Repayryng of old glasse in the same place by ij dayes labour, xij *d*.

Item, for a li. souder to the same, vj *d*.

Item, for ij lb. paryd ledde, iiij *d*.

Item, for glasse to repayre the old glasse standyng in Warderobe and of the Chappell wyndos mendyng, vj *d*.

Item, for vj fote of new glasse for the Chambre aboue the Halle on the Water side, ij *s*. vj *d*.

Item, for new dressyng of iiij casses, xvj *d*.

Item, for ij panes of new glasse for my lady chamber, in eyther pane iiij fote and di., w^t^ the Armes of my lord and my lady, iij *s*. ix *d*.

Item, for mendyng of ix holes in the same wyndowes, vj *d*.

Item, for the mendyng of the Chambre next the Chapell, of ij olde wyndows, of the seid glassier stuff, xij *d*.

Item, for ij peces sett in the Chapell, ij *d*.

Item, for iiij fote of newe glasse in the hale beside the botery, xvj *d*.

Item, the dressing and mending of the old glasse in the same place, vi *d*.

Item, for mending on pane in the parlour be the garden, vj *d*.

Item, for iiij fote of flemysshe glasse, at the steyre end next the Gret Chamber, xvj *d*.

Item, for a pane of glass in the botery conteynyng v fote, xx *d*.

Item, for a skochyn w^t^ my ladys Armes set on the Watter side, xx *d*.

Item, the vj day of Novembre in the larder house a new glasse wyndow made, conteynyng ix fote and an half, euery fote price v *d*., sum for the seid ix fote, iij *s*. xj *d*. ob.

Item, the same day in the Chamber of the Duc of Buckyngham ij panes of new glasse, conteynyng viij fote and half, price iij *s*. vj *d*. ob.

Item, the xviij day of Nouembre delyuered for the kytchin xiij fote of flemyshe glasse, every fott price iiij *d*., summa for the seid xiij fott, iiij *s*. iiij *d*.

Below is entered a record of Payments to N. Hawkyns *between* 3rd December 1485 *and* 24th March 1486. *In all* 38*s*. 4*d*. *Attached is* f. 17 *a parchment* Receipt by Nicholas Hawkyns, citizen and glasyer of London, of St. Benet Grascherche, to Ellen Lytley, widow of Thomas Lytley, deceased, citizen and grocer, for 3 *s*. 11 *d*. on 24th March 1486.

[1] Called 'an old spire' on f. 1.

[2] In Davy's own Account 'many shelves in the larder house'.

ff. 18, 19, 20. *Nearly torn away. Apparently they contained* Carpenters accounts. *There is mention of the* Kytchen Closett.

ff. 21, 22, 23. Parcels of William Edmondes, carpenter. *Include*: 12 October, iiij Skowchyns to bere the coborde in the Hale, iiij *d.* iij peces of timber to make treystelles-heddes, xij *d.* A pece of tymber for to bere the mantell of the oven, iiij *d.* viij formes for the Chambers, iiij *s.* lx fote and vij of Enysbord, xx *d.* xxxiiij quarters for formes fote and Copbordys fote and trestelles heddes, v *s.* viij *d.* iij legges for the Copourdes, iij *d.* For a gapias[1] wyndow in the kytchin, vj quarters of timber, xij *d.* iij quarters for the beddes fote and for the sedes[2] of the same beddes, vij *d.* nayls for the bed, j *d.* xxxij fete of bord for the same bed, xj *d.* *Wages of Carpenters*: for settyng up of bordes vpon the seid parlor by Tamys. For settyng up of Cupbordes and formes. For the bourdyng of the pentyse over the Watergate. Making a bord in the pastry house and shelves. A trestell for the larder house. ij Rackes in the Kichyn. Work in Master Fowlers Chamber, and in the Chambers there as the newe Chemneys be in betwyn thaim. Legges for windows of porters logge. A long pole of alder for the boket in Taymes, iiij *d.* A plank for ij seeges stokes, iiij *d.*

Attached are: Bill of parcels paid for by the Keeper's wife: nails, lattys, candles; a new keye made for the new gate weket; a bolt for the entry dore of the Water side. Account of John Johnson dwellyng at Parys Garden for carryng away erthe and dong. Bill from Maud Croser of St Olave's, Southwark; 24 October for reparacions of Coldharbour, red Motty price the C. ij *s.* iiij *d.*, summa v. *s.* x *d.*

f. 23 *b*. Account of Thomas Stokhous, joynour, of Allhallows the More. vj stoules for the use of the place of Coldherber. A tabul and ij traystelles for my lady Elizabeths chamber, with ij bordes for a prece in the same chamber, iij *s.* iiij *d.* ij Coberds, on for the Gret Chamber, and another in the Hale, viij *s.*, and for the Eeaury borde, vij *s.* viij *d.* ij beddes redy made, iiij *s.* viij *d.* A pyppe bought for the almes w[t] a lede maad for the same, xx *d.* For a plaat—iiij *d.*—and a candelstyke for the porters logge and ij candelstykes for the Botery, in all viij *d.*

To Helys Dypham, harburdacher, for a lantern for the entry at Coldharber, and iiij great chaundel plates, wheref ij for the Hale there, one great plate for the Greate Chamber, and the fourth for my lady Elizabeths Chamber, viij *s.* vj *d.*

ij C. and di. of red Motty for the reparacion of Coldherber, v *s.* x *d.* A new lok and ij holow keyes for the Eaury dore in Coldherber. For the wrytynge of this boke and other bylles, iiij *s.* iiij *d.*

f. 24. Parcelles of Herman Glasyer. ffirst for the makyng of ij pannys of Dusche glasse in the lytyl Hale, conteyning x fote, price of euery fote iiij *d.* ob., iij *s.* ix *d.*

Item, for xxj quarelles sette in the seid Hale wyndow, price of euery pece, j *d.*, xxj *d.*

Item, for Scowryng and setting vp of iiij pannys of glasse in the same Hale, ij *s.* j *d.*

Item, for iij fote of Dusshe glasse sette in the botery by the lyttyll Hale, price of euery fote, iiij *d.* ob., xiij *d.* ob.

Item, for iij pannys of Venyse glasse sete in the kytchin wyndows, conteynyng xxvj fote di., price of euery fote, vj *d.*, xiij *s.* iij *d.*

Item, for xxvj quayrelles of Englysshe glass sette in the seid Kytchin wyndow, price of euery fote, j *d.*, ij *s.* ij *d.*

Item, for scowryng, dressing and setting vp of iiij pannys of glasse in the seid kytchin wyndows, xxj *d.* ob.

Item, for scouringe and settinge vp of v wyndows of glasse in the Chappell, iij *s.*

Item, for naylles bought for the seid Chappell wyndows, ij *d.* ob.

Item, for xxvij fote of Englysh glasse sette in a Baye Wyndow in the Steward Chambre, and in on pane of the wyndow in the larder house, price of euery fote v *d.* ob., xij *s.* iiij *d.* ob.

Item, for naylles for the seid Baye Wyndow, j *d.*

[1] In Edmondes' own Account on f. 21 'gapyas'; see p. 25 above. [2] Edmondes, 'seydes'.

Item, for viij fote of florysche[1] glasse settin in the Great Chambre Wyndow ouer the Great Hale, price the fote vj *d.*, iiij *s.*

Item, for a casse of new glasse of (*sic*) conteynyng ij fote and a quarter sett in the seid Chambre, price the fote vj *d.*, xiij *d.* ob.

Item, for lij quarelles of Englyssh glasse sett in the wyndows of the seid Great Chambre, price of euery pece j *d.*, iiij *s.* iiij *d.*

Item, for xiij fote of Duche glasse sett in the wyndows in my lord of Buckyngham Chamber, price of euery fote iiij *d.* ob., iiij *s.* x *d.* ob.

Item, for xiiij fote of Duche glasse set in ij Wyndows of the Great Chambyr ouer the lytyll Hale, price the fote vj *d.*, vij *s.*

Item, for xxviij fote of Normaundy glasse settin in the wyndows of my ladys her owen Chambre, price the fote vj *d.*, xiiij *s.*

f. 24 *b.*

Settynge of old glasse — Item, for vj fote and di. of old glasse sett in the Closet next my Lady Chambre, for euery fote ij *d.* ob. xvj *d.* qr.

Duche glasse — Item, for vj fote and di. of Duche glasse sett in on wyndow of the seid closett, price the fote iiij *d.* ob., ij *s.* v *d.* qr.

nayles — Item, for a M naylles bowght for the wyndows of the Chambre ouer the Great Hale vij *d.*

Quarels — Item, for xxvij quayrelles of Englissh glasse sett in iiij panys of the Chambre ouer the Great Hale, price of euery pece j *d.*, ij *s.* iij *d.*

Normandy glasse — Item, for xij fote of Normaundy glasse settin in the Chambre wyndow ouer the Wardrobe, price the fote vj *d.*, vj *s.*

Duche glasse — Item, for iij fote and an half of Duche glasse settin in pane by the Watersyde next the steyr ouer the lytyll Hale, price the fote iiij *d.* ob., xv *d.* ob.

Quarels w[t] dressynge and settynge of the same — Item, for viij quayrelles settin in a wyndow benyeth thys seid pane, price of euery pane j *d.*, viij *d.*

Item, for the dresyng and settyng of the same pane, iiij *d.*

Normandy glasse — Item, for xiiij fote of Normandy glasse setten in the Chambre of Sir Renold Bray in ij panys, price of euery fote vj *d.*, vij *s.*

Item, for j fote of Normandy glasse setten in a lytyl pane of the seid Chambre, vj *d.*

Item, for xiiij fote of Normandy glasse, setten in ij panys of a Wyndow in the Chamber of John Denton, price of euery fote vj *d.*, vij *s.*

Item, a fote of Normandy glasse setten in a lytyl pane of a wyndow in the seid chamber, price vj *d.*

Item, for viij fote of Normandy glasse sett in ij panys, there as the littyl lateys and ij yronys to sett pottes w[t] herbes be, price the fote vj *d.* . . . iiij *s.*

At the foot are Memoranda of Payments, *the last by Elena Litley on 4th April* 1486. *Attached is a slip recording* T. Litley's payment to 'Harmon glasyer of Suthwerk'.

f. 25. Post festum Natiuitatis Domini. Christopher Gosling, mason, for chimneys in the Steward Chamber, ffullers Chamber, the Countyng house, and the porters logge. *Wages of Gosling and other masons* (*named*) *at* 8*d. a day, and labourers at* 5*d. a day for various periods; and of a* dawber daubyng the walles of the seid houses in Coldherber on dyuerse places of the space of iiij days. *The total of their wages was* 87*s.* 7½*d.*

A quarteron of tyll bowght for the harthys of the seid Chemineys, ix *d.* xiij fote of border

[1] Ornamented.

stonys for the chemineys, iiij *s.* 8 *d.* xl lode of lime, xl *s.* xxiiij lode of sande, xij *s.* xxxij lode of brick (16,000), lxiiij *s.* j lode of lombe for the Reparacions, iiij *d.* vj C. sap. lattys[1] for the walles of the seid houses, ij *s.* iiij M. and v C. of Sprygge for Mayster Fowler Chamber and for ij Seges and walles of the Chambers where the ij new chemeneys be made, ij *s.* vij *d.* ob. Nayl for the seid sygges and walles, and for naylling of bordes in the Prestes Chamber, iij *s.* vij *d.* To John Bayly for provydyng all maner of stuff and ouerseeing the workmen, xxx dayes, xij *s.* vj *d.* Total 12 *l.* 2 *s.*

f. 26. *Paymcnts of masons, etc.* (*scored through*). Bill of W. Edmonds, carpenter (*scored through*). *Attached are:* Receipts from John Fowler, brykeman, and Herry Clerke for lyme.

f. 27. October xvj. Bought of John Fowler of London, wodemonger, xxj M and an half brick, iiij *li.* vj *s.* xij C. hart lathe, vj *s.* vj C. Sapen lathe, ij *s.*

John Davy, Sandeman. xlij lode of sande, xxj *s.* viij lode of sande, iiij *s.* x lode of lome, iij *s.* iiij *d.*

Herry Clerk. iiij^{xx} xvj lode of lyme, iiij *li.* xvj *s.* xxx lode of border stonys for Chemneys, x *s.*

William Johnson. vj dormaunt tables, xxiij *s.* iiij *d.* vj plaunche bord, xij *s.*

W. Rogers. vj M. sprygge, iij *s.* vj *d.* v M. Roff nale, iiij *s.* ij *d.* xv C. vj penys nale, vij *s.* vj *d.*

John Edryche. v M.' tyle, xxv *s.* A quarteron of Rof tyle, xx *d.* ij Bochelys of tyle pynnys, xij *d.* iiij douss. of yelow oker, price of euery doss. xv *d.*, v *s.* A C. of Rede Moty, iij *s.* Cole, xxiiij bolles, dysches, of euery dysche price j *d.*, ij *s.*

Necessaryes bowght for the vse of my lady houshold. For a coule,[2] xiiij *d.* For an other covle, viij *d.* For a staff to bere the covles, iij *d.* For iiij empty peypys for the Kytchin, euery pype price xvj *d.*, v *s.* iiij *d.* For sawyng of the seid pippes, iiij *d.* For a lanterne for the porters logge, xvj *d.* For ij payles, iij *d.*

Poles for the Reparacions. vj herdelys for a scafold, price xviij *d.* For the hire of xij poles for a scafold, xviij *d.* ij Cartes for the carriage of the seid herdelles and poles, viij *d.*

Necessaries bought for the seid houshold for the Kytchin: A gret bolle bought of Symond Tapser, tourner, ij *s.* A lesser bolle, xij *d.* ij small bolles, iiij *d.* ij payles, vj *d.* ij white bolles, ij *d.* iij great treys for the Wine Celer, xviij *d.* A bolle, x *d.* ij paylles, vj *d.* ij treys, iiij *d.* ij bolles, iiij *d.* ij gret colockys, vj *d.*

Paid by Thomas Litley. For a old Copburd bowght for maister Bray Chamber, ij *s.* iiij *d.* For a Whillebarow for the store of the place in Coldherber, xiiij *d.* Payed to Peres Roussell for a Cauderon set in the boylyng hous at Coltherber, as it apperith by a bill of the seid Peres sewed to this book.

John Bailly. Paid for iij keyes, wherof on for Byrkhides Chamber and another for Abell Chamber,[3] and the iij for the Wodehouse, x *d.*

Attached are: Parcels of Symond Tapser, and Roussell's bill.

ff. 28, 29. Parcelles of Roberd Westwood, loker. A payre of hengys of Iern,[4] weying vj lb. di., xiij *d.* A swepe[5] of Iern to the dor at the stere fote vpon the bak syd of my lord of Buckyngham Chamber, weying xij lb. di., price the lib. ij *d.*, ij *s.* j *d.* A new lok for the same swep, viij *d.* iiij hinges and iiij hokes to the Pastre house, xx *d.* Mendyng a lok in the Pantre dore, ij *d.* New lok to the great Chamber dor, viij *d.* A new key, iij *d.* A stapyll to the same lok, j *d.* iiij hookes to ij casses in my Lady Elizabeth Chamber, iiij *d.* vj Sawdelettes[6] to the west wyndow in the same Chamber, weying v lb., x *d.* Makyng iiij henges of your owen

[1] *sc.* lathes. [2] A large wooden tub. [3] Byrkhide and Abell were probably servants.
[4] Westwood's own account reads 'a payr of stone henges'.
[5] Westwood, 'a swype'. The swepe of a door was probably a bar hinged at one end to the door-post, and having a padlock at the other end.
[6] Or 'sodlet', a saddle-bar for a window.

stuff to the great gate, price the lib. j *d.*, v *s.* xj *d.* iij C. and ix naylles to the same gate, lx lib. at ij *d.*, x *s.* Henges and hokes to a widrawght dore, xiiij *d.* Cuttyng and dressyng of iij garnettes[1] for the pale gate in the Garden, xij *d.* iiij hokes for the Celer dore, xvj *d.* Dressing and mendyng a pair of great garnettes for the Wekett of the great gate, xij *d.* xij barres, maad of my lady is owen stuff, xij *d.* Dressyng and mendyng ij firmenttes in the Celer wyndow, xx *d.* iij Casses of Iern for the great Chamber wyndowe be the Watter syd, and hokes for the same, weying xxx lib., v *s.* Another Casse of Iern for a wyndow in the seid great Chamber, xx *d.* xij barres of new stuff, ij *s.* A sterop[2] of Iern for the house be the gate, xij *d.* A new key for the Wardrobe dore, iij *d.* ij barres of Iern for the owen mouth,[3] ij *s.* ij *d.* A firment for the botery wyndow, xvij *d.* A new key for the botery dor, iij *d.* For lengthyng of a pair of hengges for the great dore in the entre, with the price of vij lib. of new Iern putt in the same, price the lib. ij *d.*, xiiij *d.* ij new loks for the Wine Celer dor, xvj *d.* Mendyng a lok for the Wekett of the new gate, ij *d.* A key to the barre of the same gate, iij *d.* A tenon for the same barre and dressing of iij staples for the same, viij *d.* Mendyng a lok for a dore of a Chamber withoute gate,[4] ij *d.* A new key for a dore within the gate, iij *d.* ij new loks to the larder house dors, xvj *d.* ij new barres for the ouen mouth, ij *s.* Lengthyng a payr of haynges for the Hale dore vpon[5] the garden syd, with price of vj lib. of iern put to the same, xij *d.* x Sawdelettes[6] of Iern for a wyndow in the Stewards Chamber, x *d.* iiij Tampons for a great Cawderon in the boylling house, ij *s.* viij *d.*

(f. 29) ij barres of Iern for a Cauderon sett in a fourneyse[7] in the seid boylling house, ij *s.* ij keyes and ij staples for the Porters logge, viij *d.* A new key for a spruse chest in the Celer, iiij *d.* A new key for the Wardrobe for my Lady Elizabeth, iij *d.* ij gret keys for the Wynne Celer dore, xvj *d.* Mending hynges and a pair of new hokes for the Stewards Chamber dore, iiij *d.* A key and stapule for the steere dore,[8] iiij *d.* A new key for the Chamber dore ouer the gate,[9] iij *d.* Bolt and harneys for the Weket of the seid gate, vj *d.* Key and staple to the Maister Cooks Chamber, iiij *d.* ij new keys deliuered to the secound Cook,[10] ij *d.* ij Spryng-lokes, eche of thaim with ij keys, on to the Wete Larder and an other to the Drey Larder,[11] ij *s.* Staple and plate for the same, ij *d.* Hook and staple for the cheyn of the Wekett of the great gate, ij *d.* A new stree boket,[12] viij *d.* Byndyng a new boket with iij new houppes, a bayle, and ij eyres of Iern for the same,[13] xx *d.* A half C. of x *d.* nayle white-tynned for the weket of the great gate, vj *d.*

f. 29*b*. Parcelles of John Clerk, loker. A new lok within the Great Chambre, otherwyse called my lordes Wardrobe, vij *d.* The key of the same [lok][14] dore, it was lost by my lordes servauntes and so the said loker maad an other key, iij *d.* An other key maad for the steyr dore be the Cookes Chambre, iij *d.* A holow key for a stayer dore betwene the two yates, iiij *d.*

[15] viij sawdelette barres for the kytchin wyndows at Coldherber, viij *d.* A new lok for the Hale dor on the garden syd, xvj *d.* A new lok for the entre dor, xvj *d.* A new lok for the Controllors Chambre, viij *d.* A fflesche hok deliuered to the Kytchin, viij *d.* A new lok[16] with the harnes therto in the wyne celar, iiij *d.* A new key to the Wood house dore, iiij *d.* A new

[1] A kind of hinge. [2] Westwood, 'styrope'; perhaps for the bell. [3] Westwood, 'ovyns mowthe'.
[4] Westwood, 'the dore w^t^ owte the gate'. [5] Westwood, 'dore by'.
[6] Westwood, 'sowdelett barres'.
[7] Westwood, 'a furnes to set on the same cawdryne'.
[8] Westwood, 'for the steyer dore in the entre'.
[9] Westwood, 'the manys chambre dore ouer the new gate'; he at first wrote 'gret' instead of 'new'.
[10] Westwood, 'ij cokys'. [11] Westwood, 'the dry larder within the Kechyn'.
[12] Westwood, 'a new bokett tre'.
[13] Westwood, 'byndyng of the same new bokett all ouer with iij new hopys, a bayle and ij eres'.
[14] 'lok' has been inserted. [15] This is marked 'Adhuc Robertus Westwode lokyer'
[16] Westwood, 'bolt'.

lok and a stapul to the Katter[1] Chambre dore, viij *d.* A new lok to Maister Brayes chambre dor, viij *d.* A payre of garnettes to the Kytchin wyndows, iiij *d.* ij stayes of Iern for the same wyndows, viij *d.* A lok to the skynners[2] Chambre dore, viij *d.* A new lok with ij keyes to the pale dore, xij *d.* Mendyng of a lok to the Wardrobe dore, ij *d.* A payre of haynges to the Porter dore, weyng vj lib., xij *d.* ij new loks, xvj *d.* iiij new lockes for Chestes, iij *s.* iiij *d.* A newe keye to an other Cheste, xvj *d.* A staye with ij stapuls for the Katter[3] Chambre dore, v *d.* ij new keys for the Katter,[4] vj *d.* Mendyng a lok to the stayre withoute gate, ij *d.* A new lok with ij keyes for the Kytchin dore, xj *d.* A newe key deliuered to John Bayly, iij *d.* A newe lok to a Chest in the Wardrobe, xvj *d.* Hookes to the Woode house dore, iij *d.* iij payre of hokes, vj *d.* Mendyng a payre of haynges, ij *d.* A new bolt for the Weket and a gret haspe with ij stapuls, vj *d.*

Attached are: Parcelles of John Clarke blaksmyth, *and* Receipt of R. Westwode for 46*s.* 8*d.*, leaving due 44*s.* 'To my lady the Kynges moder.'[5]

f. 30. Parcels of Robert Westwod, lokyer, to the behofe of my lady the Kynges moder for the Reparacions doon at Coldeherber. *Westwood's own Account for the items before entered: see* foot-notes *for some variants.*

f. 31. Totalis Reparacionum factarum per Thomam Litley apud Coldeherber in xviij[6] foliis papiri content. iiij^{xx} viij *li.* xviij *s.* ij *d.*

f. 32. *Some notes.*

f. 33. The Boke of Parcels of the Reparacions of Coldeherburgh in London made by Thomas Litley in the first yere of our souereyn lord Kyng Herry the vijth.

III. THE ERBER

There are a number of documents relating to the Erber between 1514 and 1539 amongst the *Rentals* and *Ministers' Accounts* in the Public Record Office. The most valuable is William Okeley's Rental for 1514–20, of which a sufficient abstract is given. A few details for the same period are added from *Ministers' Accounts* 2082. *Ministers' Accounts* 2083 (1520–1), 2084 (1521–2), and 2085 (1522–3) add nothing of importance. *Ministers' Accounts* 2086 has some supplementary documents attached, from which extracts are given. All these relate to the period when the Erber was in the possession of the countess of Salisbury. *Ministers' Accounts* 6867 is the Account of Philip Hoby in 1539–40, and is useful for comparison with the earlier Accounts.

Possessions of the Countess of Salisbury in London.

Rentals and Surveys $\frac{11}{34}$.

Account of William Okeley, collector and farmer of the hospice called the Erber, from 30th March 1514 to 25th March 1520.

3rd July 1520. 'Delyuered to Wyllyam Kellam by my lady of Salusbury's commaundment xiij *s.* iiij *d.*, the whych he payd for a tabernacle wherin [an image] of our Lady was enclosed, the whych was paynted in the Erber. Also iij *s.* iiij *d.* the whych my lady gave of her pety to the man that made the old tabernacle and gave hym the old tabernacle and the said mony.'

Signed: Margret Salysbery.

'The Rentall of my lady of Salusbery's londys about the Erber in London.'

Tenement of William Okeley, 26*s.* 8*d.* Tymber hawe, in the hands of Mabson, 13*s.* 4*d.* The Cheker, William Rowland's wife, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* A parcel of the Cheker, Reynold Eggylsfeld,

[1] Westwood, 'the Caters'.
[2] Westwood, 'to skynners'.
[3] Westwood, 'Caters'.
[4] Westwood, 'Kater'.
[5] The entry at the foot of this page is, 'Summa pagine xxxiij *s.*, vnde Roberto Westwode xxj *s.* vj *d.*'
[6] i. e. the number of pages in the original book.

26*s.* 8*d.* A garden plot in Carter Lane, Langrach, 4*s.* Two stables in Carter Lane (*no amount*). Tenement of Richard Harlyng, on the north side of the back gate, 15*s.* Tenement on south side of back gate, William Goldsmyth, 40*s.* The fuller's shop, Annot, 10*s.* Tenement of R. Haryson, 7*s.*

Receipts 1520–1. *Describe* the shop of John Annot and tenement of R. Haryson as in Bushe Lane. John Olyvere is tenant of the Cheker. The Tymber hawe is described as 'stondyng bytwene my ladys' place and the Cheker'. Okeley's tenement is 'at the foregate'.

Repairs, Jan.–Feb. 1521. 'Cuttyng the vyne in Janyvere, vij *d.* For pavyng in the strete byfore my lady's gates, the foregate and the bakgate; xx tayse[1] at viij *d.* the tayse, xj *s.* viij *d.*; iiij lodes of stone for pavyng, v *s.* iiij *d.*; vij lodes of gravel for pavyng, ij *s.* iiij *d.* Feuerell :— vj planks for the goter undernethe the said pavyng at iiij *d.* the pese, ij *s.*; a groundcell for my lady's Grete Chambre, viij *d.*; another groundcell for the same, ix *d.*; a pese for a post in the same chamber, iiij *d.*; a somer[2] pese under the gystes in the Lowe Chamber under the Grete Chamber, xviij *d.*; v fote of tymber for a post for the same somer x *d.*; a bace for the same post, ij *d.*; iij C. of quarter bord and a half, spent in the bak syde of my lady's grete Chamber for weder bordyng and pentyse, price the C. ij *s.* x *d.*—Summa, ix *s.* xj *d.* iij quarters for crepylles for the pentys at ij *d.* the pese, vj *d.* . . . To Mabson, carpenter, for iiij days work, ij *s.* viij *d.* To a mason for a days work and his laborer, for mendyng of a wall in the bak syde of my ladys place in the Lytyll garden, xiij *d.* To a dawber and his laborer for iij dayes work in my ladys grete chamber, the grete garden syde and the bak syde of the hey house at xiij *d.* the day, iij *s.* iij *d.* . . . For carrying xvj lodes of dong from the Stabylles in Carter Lane, ij *s.* To Dyamour, plomer, for a pese of newe lede, waying di. C. vij *lbb.*, for the mendyng of the lede over my ladys grete Chamber, iij *s.* iiij *d.* ob. . . . A smyth for a lok and a bolt sett on a dore bytwene my lord of Mountagues Chamber and the hey house, xiij *d.* Mabson : ij quarters to fastyn the shelvys in the Kechyn and for settyng up of them, v *d.*; mendyng of a cabyll in my ladys chamber, ij *d.*'

Other payments : Quitrent to the Abbot of Bermondsey, 26*s.* 8*d.* Two tapers one for our lady Stanyng and the other for our lady Bothawe; renewed at Ester and Myghelmas, vj *s.* viij *d.* To the person of our lady Bothawe for offeryng of my ladys place called the Erber for a hole yere endyng at Cristmas xx *s.*

Ministers' Accounts 2082.

An account by Okeley for the same period as the last. There are a few variations in names : the Goldsmith's house is described as 'late of widow Hubbard and now of John a Busse, goldsmith'. The tenant of the garden in Carter Lane is Langerige. A few additional receipts appear : 36*s.* 3*d.* from divers persons 'pro licencia bigarum stare in Carter Lane'.

Attached is a form of receipt signed : 'Margret Salysbery.'

Ministers' Accounts 2086.

For 1524–5. This Account has a number of additional documents attached. Order for payment by Kellam of money for : vj torches with staves, ix *s.*; vj torches without staves, euery of theym in length ij yerdes, xxiiij *s.* Ringes for courtynes vj *lbb.*, ij *s.* iiij *d.*

Signed : Margret Salysbery.

The Quitrent to Bermondsey Abbey is described as 'for the Cheker in the paryshe of Saynt Mary Bothaw next to Dowgat'.

Harlynch still holds the house on the north of the back gate; the house on the south of the gate is occupied by Luke the Painter. William Lighthede occupies the house at the foregate. There were various small repairs at the tenements and at the Erber. Other payments

[1] A toise, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ square yards.
[2] A summer was the principal beam of a floor.

were: 'iiij Rotes of Vynes sett in the Garden callyd the Erber and for cuttyng the vyne, xvj *d.*' 'A hangyng lok for the gate in Carter Lane, iij *d.*'

Ministers' Accounts 6867.

ACCOUNT OF PHILIP HOBY 1539–40.

The farm of the tenement late of William Littlehede, now John Marshall, is 43*s.* 4*d.* Le Cheker, now in the tenure of John Kendall, is rented at 4*l.* The tenement parcel of le Cheker, late in the tenure of John Dawson, 26*s.* 8*d.* Three tenements: (1) Colyn Goldsmith, 18*s.*; (2) Master Nicholas, 30*s.*; (3) late of Colyn Goldsmith, 18*s.* Tenement of Thomas Nichols, 7*s.* Tenement late of Robert Stephenson, 8*s.* Land called Tymber-hawe, late of William Mabson, 13*s.* 4*d.*; and a place, called Mabson's Pale, for fastening horses at the time of farriery, 3*s.* 4*d.*; both demised to William Herbury, smith. Garden in Carter Lane in the occupation of Langringe, shearman, 4*s.* Total 12*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

IV. BACON HOUSE

The Report of the Commissioners appointed to make a division of the house in 1613 is contained in *Exchequer, Special Commissions*, 5001. It is not necessary to give the preliminary statement more particularly than on p. 33 above. The actual division with the dimensions of the rooms is given here verbatim. The rooms are numbered for convenience of reference: the numbers do not appear in the original.

The seuerall Roomes of the NORTH PARTE of the said House allowed for the Kings Parte.

(1) In Primis. One Little Roome scytuat next to the North side of the greate dore, conteyning 12 ffoote in Length and in Bredth 6 ffoote.

(2) Item. One other little Roome next adioyning to the aforesaid Roome, conteyning in Length 6 ffoote and in Bredth 5 ffoote.

(3) Item. One Washynghouse or Kitchyn with a Pumpe, next adioyning to the said little Roome, conteyning in Length 30 ffoote and a halfe and in Bredth 11 foote di.

(4) Item. One large ground Roome without a Chimney scytuat on the North parte of the Court yard, conteyning in Length 30 ffoote and in Bredth 14 ffoote.

(5) Item. A Greate Halle with a Chimney, adioyning to the aforesaid Courte yarde on the East parte, conteyning in Length 28 ffoote and in Bredth 17.

(6) Item. A Seller vnder the said Halle, conteyning in Length 24 ffeete and in Bredth 16 ffeete.

(7) Item. One faire large Chamber over the said Halle, waynscotted, with a Chymney, conteyning in Length 26 ffoote and in Bredth 16 ffoote and a halfe.

(8) Item. One other Chamber, waynscotted, with a Chimney, next adioyning to the other Chamber towardes the West parte, conteyning 16 ffoote in Length and 14 in Bredth.

(9) Item. One other Chamber, wainscotted, without a Chimney, next adioyning to the last aforesaid Chamber towardes the West, conteyning 16 ffoote in Length and 13 in Bredth.

(10) Item. One other Chamber, unwainscotted, with a Chimney, next adioyning to the last aforesaid Chamber towardes the West, conteyning 16 ffoote in Length and 13 ffoote in Bredth. And also one little Closett to the same belonginge.

(11) Item. One Roome leadinge vnto two Garrettes, conteyning 6 ffoote in Length and 10 ffoote in Bredth.

(12) Item. One Garrett towardes the North, conteyning 30 ffoote in Length and 12 ffoote in Bredth or thereaboutes.

(13) Item. One other faire Garrett, seeled, on the East parte of the House, conteyning 40 ffoote in Length and 11 ffoote in Bredth.

(14) Item. One Chamber vnwainscotted, with a Chimney, scytuat over the aforesaid Roome which leadeth to the said Garrettes, conteyning 18 ffoote in Length and 12 ffoote in Bredth. And one Studdy to the same belonginge.

(15) Item. Two Stayer Cases to the North parte of the house belonging.

(16) Item. The one half of the Court Yard, on the North parte, conteyning in Length 28 ffoote, and in Bredth towardes the East 15 ffoote di., and in Bredth towardes the West 16 ffoote.

(17) Item. One half of the Gardeyne abutting vppon a Brickwall Northward, conteyning 64 ffoote in Length and in Bredth towardes the East 12 ffoote and towardes the West 22 ffoote.

(18) Item. One Great Dore with Lock, Key and two great boltes, with an Entrye and a little wickytt leading to the said Court Yard.

The Seuerall Roomes of the South Parte of the House.

(19) In Primis. One little ground Roome on the South syde of the Great Dore, conteyning in Length 13 ffoote and in Bredth 10, without any Chimney.

(20) Item. One other ground Roome next adioyning, to the aforesaid Roome on the same South syde, conteyning 13 ffoote square or thereabouts, with a Chimney.

(21) Item. One Seller vnder the aforesaid Roomes, conteyning 18 ffoote in Length and 12 in Bredth or thereaboutes.

(22) Item. One little Roome on the South syde of the Court leading to an house of office, conteyning 12 ffoote square or thereaboutes.

(23) Item. One Roome or Pastry on the South side also of the said Courte, conteyninge in Length 14 ffoote and in Bredth 12.

(24) Item. One Kitchyn next adioyning to the Pastery on the East side thereof, conteyning 17 ffoote in Length and 12 ffoote in Bredth.

(25) Item. One little Entrye leading from the said Kitchyn into the Halle.

(26) Item. One Walke scytuat vnder a Gallery on the South part of the Gardeyne, conteyninge in length 69 ffoote and in Bredth 8 ffoote or thereaboutes.

(27) Item. One little Buttery adioyning to the Great Hall on the South parte, conteyning square 9 ffoote or thereaboutes.

(28) Item. One large Chamber without a Chimney towardes the High Street aforesaid over the Great Gate, conteyning 24 ffoote in Length and 16 in Bredth. And also a little Studdy adioyning to the said Chamber on the South side thereof.

(29) Item. One other Chamber towardes the High Streete on the South side of the aforesaid Chamber, with a Chimney, conteyning 16 ffoote in Length and 13 ffoote in Bredth or thereaboutes.

(30) Item. One Little Roome with a house of office in the same, next adioyning to the former Roome on the East parte, conteyning 13 ffoote in Length and 11 ffoote in Bredth or thereaboutes.

(31) Item. One other Large Chamber honge with painted clothes, adioyninge to the next aforesaid Roome on the East parte with a Chymney, conteyning 18 ffoote in Length and 14 ffoote in Bredth.

(32) Item. One other faire large Chamber, wainscotted, next adioyning to the last aforesaid Chamber on the East parte, and abutting vpon the Gardeyne on the West parte, conteyning in Length 23 ffoote and in Bredth [16][1] ffoote or thereaboutes. And also one Counting house and one house of office to the same belonging.

(33) Item. One Long Gallery with a Chimney, abutting vpon the South syde of the Gardeyn, conteyning in Length 69 ffeete and in Bredth 8 ffeete or thereaboutes.

(34) Item. One long Garrett scytuat next towardes the Street from the North to the South, conteyning 68 ffoote in Length and in Bredth 11 ffoote or thereaboutes.

[1] The MS. is defective.

(35) Item. One other Garrett on the South side of the house, conteyning in Length 26 feet and 11 in Bredth or thereaboutes.

(36) Item. One half of a Garden, next adioyning to the Walk under the Gallery on the South parte, conteyning 66 foote in Length and 22 in Bredth.

(37) Item. The one half of the Court Yard on the South parte, conteyning in Length 26 ffoote, and in Bredth towardes the East 12, and in Bredth towardes the West 16 ffeete.

(38) Item. One Stayer Case to this South part of the House belonginge.

Discussion.

Mr. Clifford Smith said it had been possible to restore the interior of Ingatestone Hall, Essex, though no record existed of the dimensions; but in an inventory of 1602 complete details were given of every room in the square building of that date. Mention was made of dormer tables, and one piece of furniture at Ingatestone might belong to that class. In his opinion a dormer table had solid and shaped ends, a rod passing from one end to the other, thus differing from tables more easily moved. He hoped that more details from the inventories would be added to the paper, and that foot-notes would be supplied explaining matters that were in dispute.

Rev. E. E. Dorling said that dormant tables had for some time been a mystery. The conclusion reached at Salisbury by the late Mr. Arthur Malden and himself was that a shelf-like contrivance was meant, which was fastened to the wall and let down with a hinge. Further light on this point would be very welcome.

Mr. Paley Baildon thought that dormant tables should be distinguished from boards and trestles that served as temporary tables. In Chaucer's *Prologue* the Franklin's

> table dormant in his halle alway
> Stood redy covered al the longe day.

Mr. Kingsford was to be congratulated on a successful reconstruction of Bacon House, in spite of medieval carelessness in measurement. It was seldom possible to make the dimensions agree, just as in inventories prior to 1600 the totals of figures were almost always incorrect. The survey in question seemed, however, to be unusually accurate.

Mr. Peers said that the accuracy achieved was more apparent than real. Measurements of the rooms were only given in complete feet, inches being ignored; consequently a certain manipulation of the figures had been necessary. In all the houses described there was mention of a hall and a roof above it. The great hall with open roof was a common feature of this period, but in towns it was not possible to sacrifice so much space, and another room was provided above the hall.

Mr. Kingsford replied that Dudley's house seemed to have had an open-roofed hall. With regard to Bacon House the truth probably lay between the views of Mr. Baildon and Mr. Peers; the dimensions might not be quite accurate, but he thought the plans gave a fair representation of the interior arrangements. The tables he mentioned were certainly described as dormant, not dormer.

The President said it was evident that Mr. Kingsford's paper was the result of considerable labour, and had been successful in conveying the atmosphere of the period. The hall was specially well exemplified in the eastern counties. He would have liked to distinguish between the Dutch, English, and Venetian glass, and doubted whether the last, which was a soda-glass and very foggy, was better to see through than any other. The paper revealed the danger of treating materials used in a building as of local origin; and it was clear that difference in spelling and bad writing were often responsible for unintelligible terms. Dormant tables were unquestionably so called to distinguish them from others more easily moved.

III.—*Some Recent Excavations in London.*

By Frank Lambert, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 3rd February and 8th December 1921.

The discoveries recorded in the following pages cover, in more than one sense, a considerable period of time. Some of them were made as early as the spring of 1915, immediately after the present author had read a paper on a similar subject, which was later published in *Archaeologia*, lxvi. The bulk, however, are the fruits of the resumption of building operations in 1919 and 1920, after the great blank interval of the War. It is not proposed, in the description of the finds, to distinguish exactly between these periods, for the sites investigated fall by a happy chance into two groups—one in King William Street, the other about London Wall and Finsbury Circus—each of which can be treated as a whole. It will be sufficient for the present purpose to note that one site from each group—the Comptoir National from the first, and 12 to 26 Finsbury Circus from the second—was excavated in 1915, and the rest between the autumn of 1919 and the summer of 1921.

I. King William Street.

The last excavation dealt with in the paper of 1915 was the site of Phoenix House in King William Street; and this account will therefore be resumed in the same neighbourhood.

King William Street is a modern feature of the map of London, having been cut, under a series of Acts of Parliament beginning in 1823 (4 Geo. IV, c. 50, etc.), diagonally through a number of parallel lanes between the Mansion House and Eastcheap, and thence due south to the river bank, in order to provide easier access to the rebuilt London Bridge. Charles Roach Smith watched the digging that took place in 1834 and 1835, but finding 'the superintendants of the works unhappily disposed to raise every impediment in their power against investigation', he could not make full use of the great opportunities for 'obtaining some additional and corroborating information illustrative of the ancient occupation of the soil'.[1] He gave a vague account of walls of chalk

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxvii, 140.

(which may well have been medieval) and of a tessellated pavement adjoining St. Clement's church; apart from these scanty notes, all that may have been found during the construction of this street was swept away without record.

All the necessary ground had been acquired by the Corporation at about the same time, and the street was built in one uniform architectural style from end to end. The leases of seventy-nine or eighty years expired therefore within the same decade; and the architecture of 1830 having proved quite inadequate for modern business purposes in the heart of the city, it followed that King

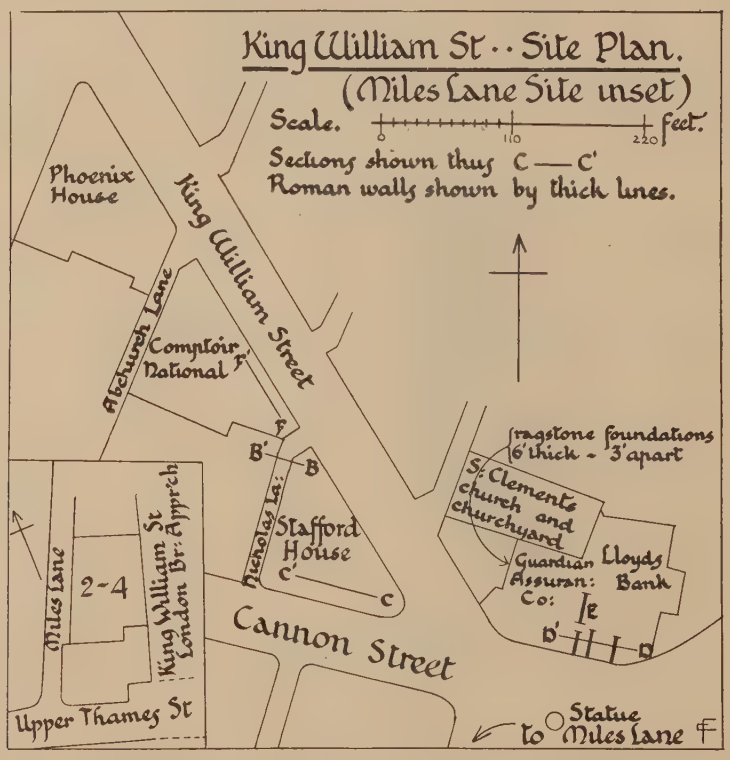


Fig. 1. King William Street Site: Plan.

William Street, at least the portion from St. Mary Woolnoth church to King William's Statue, was doomed to almost simultaneous destruction. We will deal with this stretch first. With slight exception, it stood in 1914 just as it had been erected eighty years earlier; and Phoenix House was the beginning of its demolition and re-erection on modern lines.

On that site, it will be remembered, a large first-century rubbish pit was uncovered containing much important Roman pottery, which is now divided (because part of the ground was the property of the Corporation of the City of London) between the Phoenix Assurance Company and the Guildhall Museum.

It was therefore with the keenest anticipation that the gradual demolition of the rest of the street was watched, for even if all traces of early buildings should prove to have been destroyed, there was still a prospect of striking valuable pot-holes. These anticipations, however, have been entirely disappointed. Although a number of small pits was revealed, cut into or through the brick-earth which formed the Roman subsoil, little was found in them besides animal bones, and no site has produced a collection in any way comparable with that from Phoenix House. It has only been possible, out of the chaos of medieval and modern footings and wells and cesspools, the medley of brick, chalk, and concrete, which is disclosed by nearly every large excavation within the walls of London, to select a few sections which tell a fairly clear and simple story. Their positions are shown in the site-plan, fig. 1, and their details in figs. 2, 3, 4, and 7.

The most striking feature of these sections is the burnt layer that occurs in all of them (and in many other sections more disturbed), from 10 ft. to 13 ft. below the modern ground-level, and in nearly all cases resting on the original brick-earth. It is even more striking to the eye than in a diagram, for it consists of burnt red clay, for the most part reduced to a coarse powder, containing charred fragments of wood, fragments of burnt roofing tiles, and, here and there, a hard-baked piece of clay which still shows the impress of the flue-tile or wattle or laths against which it had once been pressed. Clearly an extensive fire, early in the Roman occupation, swept over this angle between the Walbrook and the Bridge, and reduced the clay-and-timber houses to a red dust. The stratum had already been noted on the top of the Phoenix House rubbish-pit, and it was suggested that the conflagration that caused it had occurred at the end of the first century; this date is supported by the only section, shown in fig. 2, which afforded any evidence, where the burnt material covered late first-century objects.

At the same time an earlier date is quite possible. This is not by any means the first time that evidence of fire has been found at a considerable depth here (and indeed elsewhere) in London. As long ago as 1786 wood ashes were noticed at a depth of 16 ft. in Lombard Street, overlying a tessellated pavement, and among them a gold coin of Galba.[1] When the London Bridge Approach was built, ashes and burnt glass and 'Samian' were found in Eastcheap, and a wall in which burnt 'Samian' and coins of Claudius were imbedded.[2] Recent observers have noticed the phenomenon of the red layer, and in connexion with it burnt objects of early date have been found. On the site of Lloyds Bank, for instance (see fig. 1), seventeen burnt bronze coins of Claudius were found together, at a depth of about 15 ft., and burnt fragments of early

[1] *Archaeologia*, viii, 132.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxiv, 192.

'Samian'. Among burnt 'Samian' discovered in Lombard Street, on a site west of St. Edmund's church, was part of a bowl with the stamp of the Claudian potter Genialis.[1] Both positive and negative evidence—the distribution of the earliest coins and of the burials—show that this corner was the earliest occupied part of Londinium, and that the town which was destroyed in A. D. 61 stood mainly between Gracechurch Street and the Walbrook. The wide distribution of the red layer over this early area, its occurrence in almost all cases immediately on the primeval surface, and the age of the burnt objects just noted, certainly suggest that we have here the traces of the work of Boadicea. If that is so, then the position of the red layer in two instances above later first-century

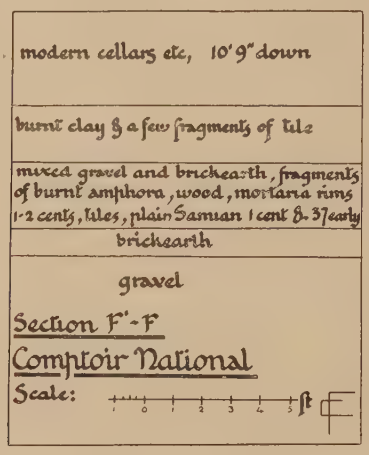

modern cellars etc, 10' 9" down
burnt clay & a few fragments of tile
mixed gravel and brickearth, fragments of burnt amphora, wood, mortaria rims 1-2 cents, tiles, plain Samian 1 cent & 3? early
brickearth
gravel
Section F'-F
Comptoir National
Scale:
ft

Fig. 2. Comptoir National Site: Section.

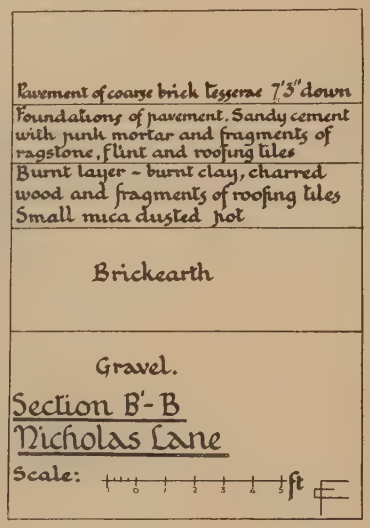

Pavement of coarse brick tesserae 7'3" down
Foundations of pavement. Sandy cement with much mortar and fragments of ragstone, flint and roofing tiles
Burnt layer - burnt clay, charred wood and fragments of roofing tiles
Small mica dusted pot
Brickearth
Gravel.
Section B'-B
Nicholas Lane
Scale:
ft

Fig. 3. Nicholas Lane Site: Section.

objects must be explained either by a raking over of the old material, or by a later and perhaps less widespread fire.

The section in fig. 3 was obtained during the repair of sewers in the southern part of Nicholas Lane. It shows how the débris of the fire was smoothed over and used for the foundation for the flooring of the later buildings. Among the loose tesserae of the pavement were several fragments of dull red ware, painted with white slip, dating from the fourth or fifth century. It will be seen that between the top of the brick-earth and the pavement is a difference in level of more than 4 ft.; and that the pavement is little more than 7 ft. below the present surface. The pavement which Roach Smith noticed 'adjoining St. Clement's Church' lay at a depth of 12 ft., approximately the level of the brick-earth as recently disclosed. If this rise of 4 or 5 ft. between the first and fourth

[1] For this valuable evidence I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Lawrence, Inspector of Excavations to the London Museum.

centuries was general over the surface of Londinium, it would offer at least a partial explanation of the surprisingly large proportion of first-century objects

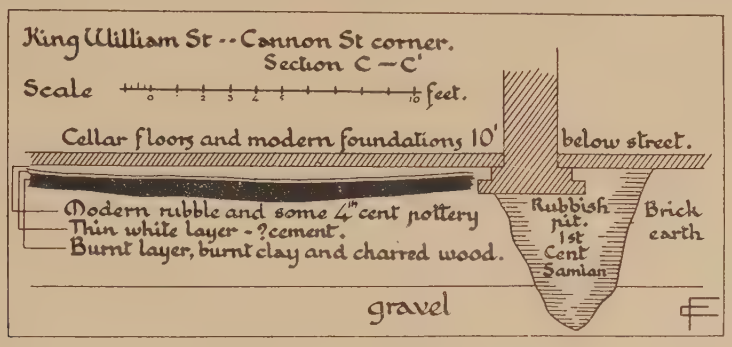


Fig. 4. Section on South Side of Stafford House.

among London finds, for the later deposits would be near enough to the ground to have been destroyed unnoticed by the foundations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the section along the south side of Stafford House (fig. 4) the flooring over the red layer was composed of a white chalky cement, which had decayed badly and had sunk considerably in the centre of the area, some 15 ft. square, which was uncovered. Over the rest of the site, in the few places where the Roman level was undisturbed, the burnt stratum consisted of about a foot of blackened earth. Above it were traces of another deposit, containing fragments of the late white-painted ware associated with the pavement in fig. 3. From this late deposit also came the flue-tile illustrated in fig. 5, and some fragments of a duplicate. The decoration on this flue-tile appears to have been produced by means of a roller about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and 2 in. in diameter, rather than with a stamp. The complete width of the tile being only $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., the pattern overlaps in the centre. A flue-tile with very similar decoration, found in 1849 near Reigate, is illustrated in the *Archaeological Journal*, vi, p. 288.[1] Traces of several rubbish-pits were found over the site (see fig. 4), and in them, or in the disturbed earth about them, were found the amphora stamps reproduced in fig. 6, and the following 'Samian' marks:

Fig. 5. Flue-tile from Stafford House Site.

[1] Now in the British Museum; see *Guide to Roman Britain*, fig. 139.

OFAQVITAVI	on form	15/17	OPASIN	on form	27
CRESTI	„	18	OPASSIEN	„	24
LICNVS	„	27	SABINI	„	18
MARTI	„	27	SECVNDVSFE	„	15/17
OFMVRRAVI	„	24	SECVN·F	„	18

All these are the forms and the potters of La Graufesenque, and date from the first century.

Only in one part of this section of the street were Roman walls uncovered—under nos. 61 to 66, behind William IV's Statue, on the site to be occupied by Lloyds Bank and the Guardian Assurance Company. These are shown in plan at D and E, on fig. 1, and in section in fig. 7. The two eastern walls, narrow walls of squared ragstone rising from the brick-earth, with one double bonding-course of tiles remaining in each, are plainly part of the same structure, but so little remained of their length that their purpose is quite obscure. The roofing-tile used in the easternmost part should be noted. At their base they were connected by a layer, 6 in. thick, of white chalky mortar, yellow at the bottom, probably from contact with the brick-earth, and

Fig. 6. Amphora stamps.

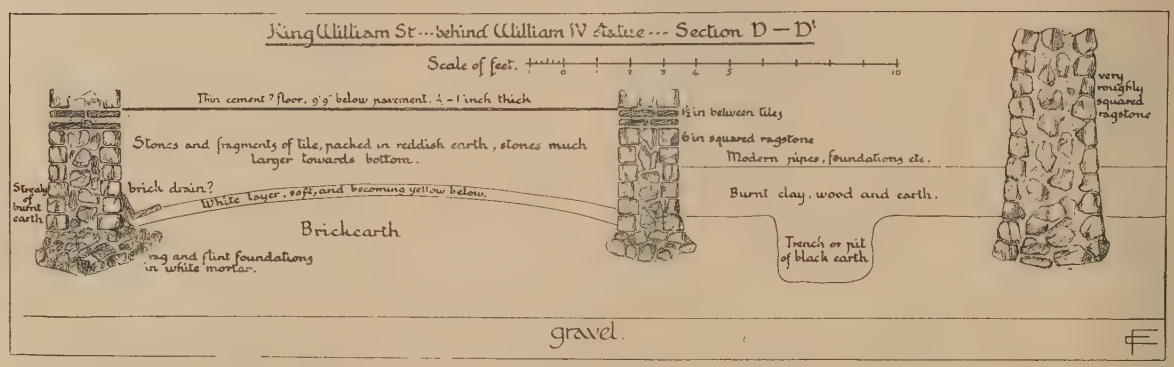

King William St.—behind William IV statue.—Section D—D'
Scale of feet.
Thin cement? floor, 9'9" below pavement. ¼–1 inch thick
Stones and fragments of tile, packed in reddish earth, stones much larger towards bottom.
brick drain?
White layer, soft, and becoming yellow below.
Brickearth
rag and flint foundations in white mortar.
½ in between tiles
6 in squared ragstone
Modern pipes, foundations etc.
Burnt clay, wood and earth.
Trench or pit of black earth
very roughly squared ragstone
gravel.

Fig. 7. King William Street Site: Section behind William IV's statue.

rising in the centre like the camber of a road. Along the eastern side were traces of tiles laid at right angles as though to form a drain. It has, indeed, been suggested that this white layer was the floor of a bath-room. The space above this to the top of the bonding-courses was filled with pebbles and fragments of tile, packed tightly with the larger stones at the bottom, in a red earth which appeared to be a mixture of humus and the burnt clay which was found abundantly over the southern part of the site. The whole was capped by a horizontal white flooring resembling that shown in fig. 4. The observer is at once reminded of the supposed 'Watling Street', with its containing walls, which was discovered

about 1830, a few yards to the east of the recent finds and approximately at right angles to them.[1] There also the 'substance of the road between the walls was a concrete of gravel found on the spot'. The width is the same in both cases, but in the earlier case the retaining walls remained to the height of 7 ft. 6 in., and their foundations were 3 ft. nearer the pavement than those in our present section. The Ordnance Survey shows a fall from 48·0 above O.D. beside William IV's Statue to 45·7 at the top of Fish Street Hill. Probably, therefore, the old and the new finds stand at about the same level. It is not suggested that the resemblance should be pressed, for the filling in this recent find did not seem nearly solid enough for a road. The only result of this discovery in the present author's mind has been to raise a doubt whether the find of 1830 was, after all, a road.

The western wall was at once ruder in construction and more solid than the other two. At its southern end it was built entirely of ragstone, very roughly squared on each face. The western face was more carefully finished, and therefore perhaps represented the exterior of the wall. Under the pavement its base rose as though to admit a broad arch. North of this stretch was a gap of several feet filled with modern brickwork and foundations. Beyond this gap, and on the same line, came a twenty-foot length of wall of an entirely different type (E in fig. 1).[2] Here it was a miniature of the city wall—rather more than 3 ft. in thickness, with four rows of squared ragstone between each double bonding-course. The top of it reached almost to the pavement level, and its foundations were embedded, like those of the adjacent walls, in the brick-earth. It would appear originally to have extended completely across the site, for a rough section could be seen, as though the facing had been removed and the core left, in the north-east corner, beside St. Clement's churchyard. It is tempting to suggest that we have here a trace of the earliest fortress wall of London. Unfortunately, however, the western appeared to be the external face of at least one portion, and in the other portions the thickness of mortar between the tiles of the bonding-course suggests a rather late date.

Before leaving these sections, two points which are apparent in all of them should be noted. It is often stated that the twin hills on which Londinium was founded were of gravel, and that this fact made one of their original attractions to settlers. The statement is correct, but yet misleading, for over the greater part of the space within the walls a stratum of brick-earth lay above the gravel. On the western hill the 'pot-earth' found by Wren, and the pit where it 'had been robb'd by the Potters of old Time' has become famous. That the eastern

[1] W. Herbert, *History of St. Michael, Crooked Lane*, 21–2, and *Gent. Mag.*, 1833, ii, 421.

[2] I was out of London when this piece of wall was found, and am indebted to Mr. Roland S. Smith, Surveyor to the Guardian Assurance Company, for details of the discovery.

hill was equally well covered is revealed by almost every excavation between Moorgate Street and Eastcheap. The Roman subsoil was a heavy clay, and in the presumably damper climate of Roman Britain the inhabitants of Londinium, unless the town was exceptionally well paved and drained, must have found some disadvantages to counterbalance the *dulcedo loci*. Yet the fact was important, both to them and to us, for beneath their feet and in the surrounding forests all the materials for their 'half-timber' houses were readily accessible; and in digging the clay they made the rubbish-pits in which so much of their discarded pottery has been preserved till the present day.

The second point is one that has already been touched upon—the difference in levels within the Roman deposit. Between the fourth-century layer and the bottom of a rubbish-pit there may be 8 ft. of material, at any point of which Roman objects have been found, and the depth of any of these finds may incautiously be called the 'Roman level'. Such unqualified statements, based on the depth of Roman finds, without a note of the circumstances of the find, must be received with the greatest reserve.

South of William IV's Statue much clearer and more satisfactory remains of Roman building have been found. The site, nos. 2 to 4 Miles Lane, and 37 to 39 King William Street,[1] lies some two hundred yards south of the sites already dealt with, but it adjoins that part of King William Street which forms the approach to London Bridge, and is therefore included in this group.

To the investigator this excavation presented two difficulties. In the first place, the building recently demolished was founded on a concrete raft from 3 to 5 ft. thick, floated over the whole area. The new building rises considerably higher than the old, but its basement goes no deeper, and therefore the raft has not been entirely removed, but only pierced here and there by holes for new piers. Thus the archaeological results are necessarily imperfect, and much of interest probably is still left under the latest buildings. Very fortunately the pier holes coincided with the main lines of both the structures which came to light, and it is possible to piece our evidence together with some certainty.

The second difficulty is that of stating clearly, in relation to modern levels, the depth of the discoveries made on a spot which formed originally part of the slope of the river-bank. An observer, standing after the demolition on the concrete basement from which excavation began, and looking south, saw the substructure of the Bridge Approach towering nearly 30 ft. high on his left, and on his right Miles Lane sloping steeply down towards Upper Thames Street.

[1] On the figs. 1 and 8 the whole site is for simplicity called 2–4 Miles Lane, because the excavation was approached from that side. It included, however, the three houses fronting the Bridge Approach. The whole site is now occupied by the Anglo-Egyptian Bank.

Probably the most useful modern level with which to relate the ancient levels would be that of Thames Street; but, for the sake of clarity and completeness, the relative positions of the pavement of the Bridge Approach, of the raft, of Thames Street, and of mean high water have all been indicated on the section in fig. 9.

The plan (fig. 8) and the section through its centre from north to south (fig. 9) show the nature and extent of the structures partly uncovered by the piercing of the concrete raft. The fragments actually revealed and destroyed (or buried again) are drawn in solid outline; and broken lines indicate their presumed connexion still lying undisturbed beneath the new building. At a distance of 28 ft. from the southern limit of the site (measuring along the Miles Lane frontage) and therefore 80 ft. from the northern frontage of Upper Thames Street, a great timber wall crossed the site from east to west. It was composed of a single width of oaken baulks, laid horizontally, and its base rested on gravelly, alluvial clay, 15 ft. below the top of the concrete raft. The lowest baulks measured 2 ft. 3 in. in breadth and 2 ft. in depth; and the four lengths of baulk that remained above it varied from 20 to 22 in. in breadth and averaged 16 in. in depth. Its weight, and that of the cross-walls described in the next paragraph, seem to have been sufficient to hold the structure together, for no trace of wood or iron pegs or bolts was seen, and no piles were found at its base. In four cases, however, the ends of the beams were found to have been jointed together. In two of these cases the joints were simply half-lapped (fig. 10 *c*), in a third (fig. 10 *a*) the joint was a notched mortice and tenon, and the fourth (fig. 10 *b*) was a butt joint with shouldered mortice and tenon. It is remarkable that so few of the ends of the beams were revealed in the three holes in which this timber wall occurred. Perhaps some joints were destroyed unnoticed in removing the wood; otherwise most of the junctions must have lain between the holes, or else the beams were prodigiously long.

At right angles to this main wall, on its northern side, stood a series of smaller cross-walls, similarly of single beams of oak. The width of these cross-walls was from 15 to 18 in., and their total depth slightly less than that of the main wall, for they corresponded roughly (but not always exactly) with the upper four beams of the main wall, and the lowest cross-beam rested on top of the lowest and largest main beam. The slope of the top of the alluvial clay will be seen in fig. 9 to account for this fact. The cross-beams were halved across the main beams in the manner shown in fig. 10 *d*, a shallow slot in the larger beam generally corresponding with a deep slot in the smaller, and they projected from 1 to 3 ft. on the south side. Two of the cross-beams showed unusual features (fig. 10 *e*). The projecting end was bevelled, and a diagonal notch had been cut across a corner—in one case across two corners. These may have been

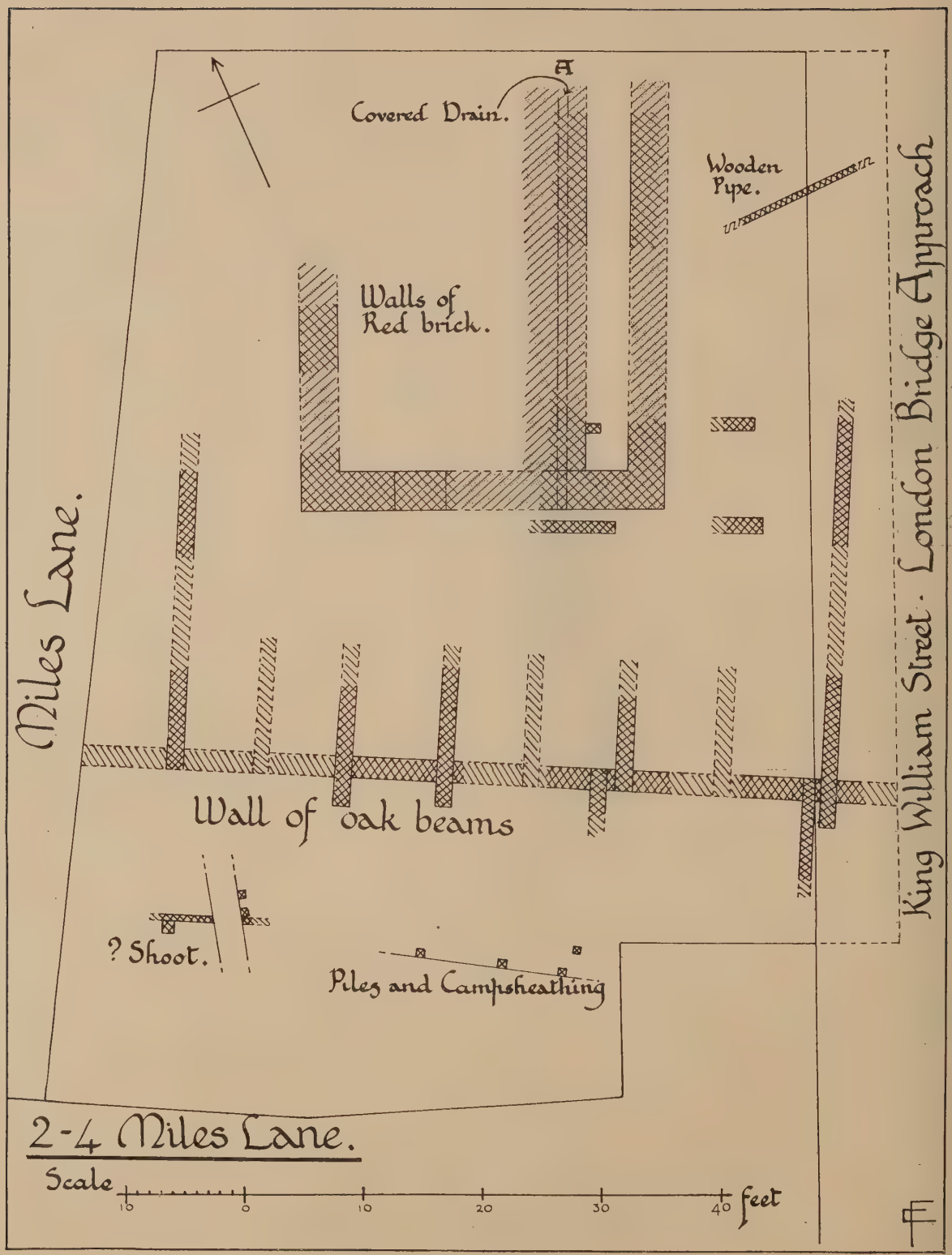


Fig. 8. Miles Lane Site: Plan.

used to secure ropes for hauling, but they showed no signs of wear. Both these beams occurred between two of normal squared type, and it can only be suggested that they are re-used material, and were originally made for some other purpose. In the filling between two of the cross-walls was found, lying loose, the short beam with a dowel at each end shown in fig. 10*f*.

Four of the cross-walls were found in position, two of them adjacent at an

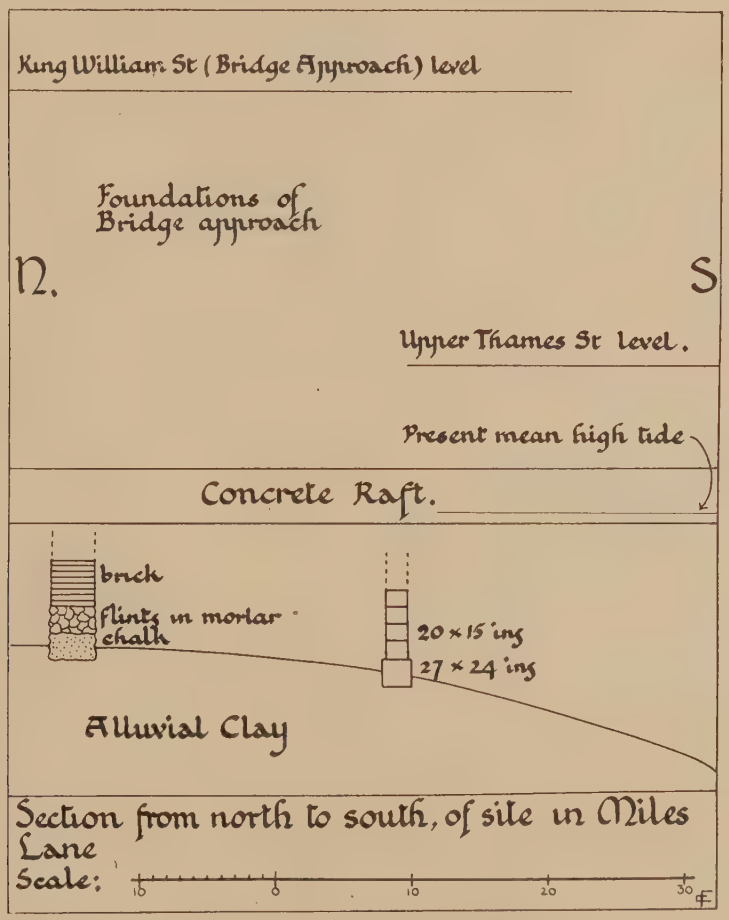


Fig. 9. Miles Lane Site: Section.

interval of 6 ft. 6 in. in the same hole. If this interval is used roughly as a unit, it is apparent that the other two fit into their places in a series. Cross-walls have therefore been suggested on the plan at distances of 6 or 7 ft. along those parts of the structure which were not excavated.

The northern ends of the cross-walls were not uncovered, and there is no evidence to show how they terminated. Very possibly another wall ran east and west, parallel to our main wall and 12 to 15 ft. north of it, and against this

the cross-walls came to an end.[1] It will be seen that the easternmost and westernmost wall were found considerably farther north than the rest; but it should be noted that in the most northern part of their line they consisted of a single beam, 9 ft. below the top of the concrete. The area containing the transition from the wall to the single beam was not excavated.

Several disconnected traces of timber-work were found at the southern end

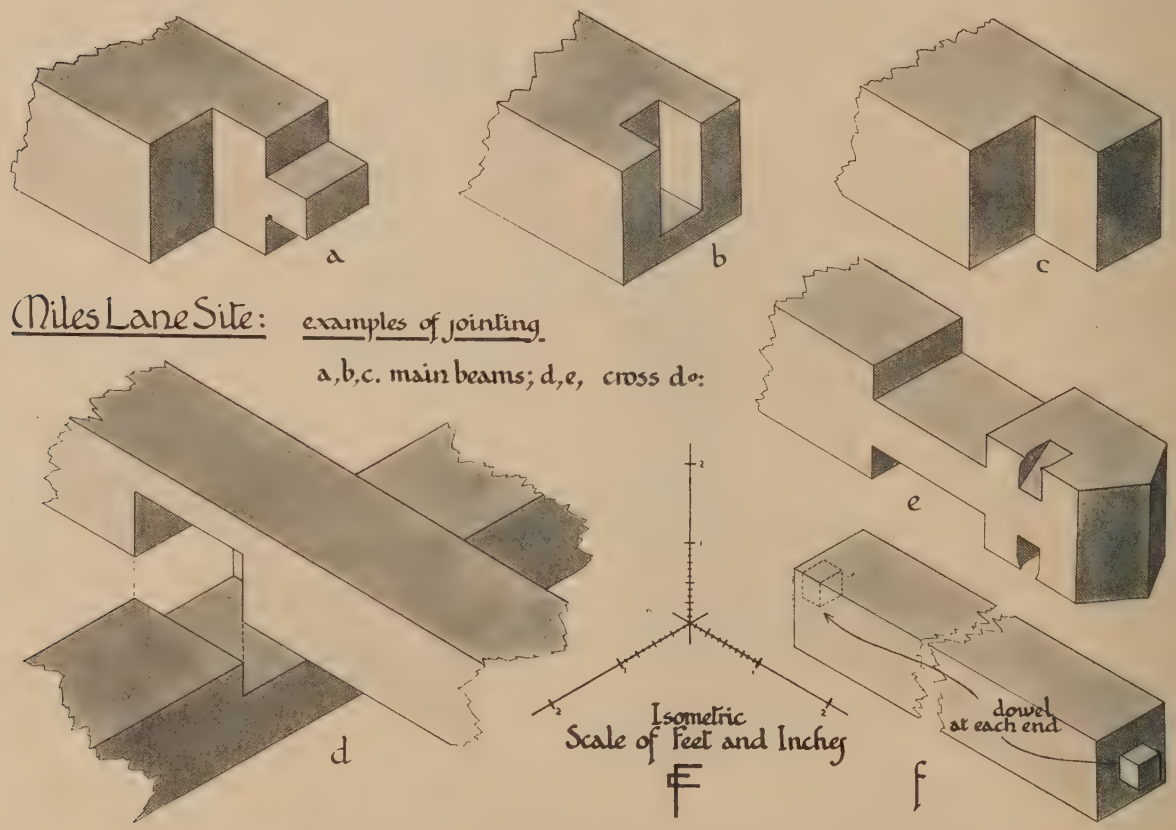


Fig. 10. Miles Lane Site: Diagram showing method of jointing timber.

of the site. In the south-western corner was what looked like the remains of a shoot, or the outlet of a drain, built of thin planks, sloping slightly from north to south, with a floor 2 ft. 7 in. wide, and sides nearly 3 ft. high. The floor lay 11 ft. below the top of the concrete and was covered to the height of a foot with red earth, containing animal bones, fragments of brick, and pebbles. Inverted on the floor was a large fragment of a *mortarium*, dating from the end of the first century. Two piles supported the eastern side of this 'shoot', and an

[1] But see foot-note, p. 69.

isolated larger pile, a little more than a foot square, stood 6 ft. to the west. In the made earth, consisting chiefly of grey clay, about and under this group of finds, was a number of fragments of roofing-tiles and cement flooring.

To the east stood a row of piles, with camp-sheeting of planks about 9 in. wide by 1 in. thick, across their southern face. The top of these piles was 8 ft. below the concrete level. They were sawn off by the contractors about 4 ft. below the top, and the ground dug no deeper, so that their total depth was not ascertained.

Between these two groups was found a number of scattered triangular piles, averaging 3 ft. in length, but it was not possible to note their exact position.

Near the southern edge of the site a hole was sunk down to the solid clay, 21 ft. below the top of the concrete, or more than 27 ft. below the level of Thames Street. As will be seen from the section in fig. 9, this depth makes the slope from the main wooden walls rather abrupt, and seems inconsistent with two other facts. The piles and camp-sheeting were only a few feet farther north. As has been stated, they were not explored to their base, but it is difficult to think they were as much as 14 ft. long. Moreover, the foundations of the river-wall, discovered in 1911, just east of London Bridge and appreciably nearer the present river-front, were only 24 ft. below the pavement.[1] Perhaps some accidental factor has made the slope of the original bank in Miles Lane apparently steeper, and we must await the demolition of no. 1, adjoining Thames Street, before we can check the facts.

The filling above the clay consisted, in its lowest third, of clay and black earth, mixed and sometimes roughly stratified. Above that, wet black earth passed into dry earth below the concrete raft. The stratification was nowhere clear enough to indicate on the section.

Among all this woodwork a considerable quantity of 'Samian' pottery was found, and a small quantity of Roman coarse pottery. Save for an early type of amphora-neck (*Archaeologia*, xlv, fig. 14, no. 1) and some fragments of *mortaria*, of A.D. 80–120 (one stamped with the name of Sollus) the coarse wares were not easily datable. The decorated 'Samian' consisted (with three exceptions, fragments of form 29) entirely of fragments of the hemispherical bowl, form 37, and the decoration showed the latest work of La Graufesenque and the small panels which characterized the early second-century products of Lezoux; two or three pieces may have been as late as the middle of the second century. So far as could be ascertained the later fragments were found south of the main wooden wall.

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxiii, 309.

The following stamps occurred:

AVSTRI·M	on form	33	OFMOM	on form	33
C·RESINA	„	? (a thin flat plate)	OFNCR	„	27
OFCRES	„	18	PEREGRIN	„	18
CRES/	„	18	[RE]GINVS	„	18/31
OFIRMON	„	29	OFRVFIN	„	29
OFRONT/	„	18	SECV/	„	18
LOLLI·M	„	33	VERINV2F	„	33
OFMO	„	24			

Of these potters, Firmo worked at La Graufesenque in the middle of the first century A.D., and Crestus, Frontinus, Mommo, Niger, and Rufinus at the same factory in the second half of the first century; Chresimus is probably a Flavian potter of Montans; Auster belongs to the earliest period of Lezoux; Reginus worked at Rheinzabern and elsewhere, between A.D. 90 and 150; Peregrinus also is found at several East Gaulish factories in the middle of the second century; and Verinus is a potter of Rheinzabern.

These potters cover a fairly wide range of date, but it will be seen that the bulk of them worked before A.D. 100. It is therefore a reasonable assumption that the main part, at least, of our timber was placed in position at the end of the first century or the beginning of the second; and the size and solidity of the structure, and its position on the sloping bank, make it no less reasonable to assume that it formed part of an embankment, and represents the line of the river-front in the earlier part of the Roman occupation.

Much timber of early date has been seen in excavation in this neighbourhood, and some of it has been briefly recorded. In 1813, for instance, on clearing the site of the present Custom House, 'three distinct lines of wooden embankments were found at the several distances of 58, 86, and 103 ft. within the range of the existing wharf, and about 50 ft. from the campshot, or outer edge of the wharf wall, a wall was discovered running east and west; it was built with chalk rubble, and faced with Purbeck stone'.[1] During the building of the approach to the new bridge, two wooden embankments were observed. 'The first embankment, on the south side of Thames Street, was found about 10 ft. below the surface of the street, and was traced to the depth of more than 20 ft. It was formed of large, solid trees of oak and chestnut, about 2 ft. square, roughly hewn, having camp sheathings and strong timber walings spiked to the piles, the whole of great strength and massiveness. . . . The second embankment was discovered about 60 ft. beyond the north side of Thames Street towards Crooked Lane, and was of a completely different character from the one just described. It was composed of strong elm piles, from 8 to 10 ft. long, closely driven together

[1] D. Laing, *New Custom-House*, 5–6.

in the ground, with a waling-piece or brace at the top.'[1] Possibly the second of these corresponds in position with the present find, for 'about 60 ft.' is an elastic measurement. Certainly neither of them corresponds with it in construction. It should be remembered that somewhere between these two lines lay the permanent river-wall of stone and brick, probably (from the re-used material found in some parts of it) very late in date, a trace of which was seen in 1911 at the bottom of Fish Street Hill.[2] The southern line probably represents therefore the front of a quay thrown out beyond the wall. Sir William Tite stated that 'the excavation for sewers constructed along this part of the boundary of London appears satisfactorily to have ascertained that nearly the whole south side of the road forming the line from Lower Thames Street to Temple Street has been gained from the river by a series of strong embankments.... Between Billingsgate and Fish Street Hill the whole street was found to be filled with piling; and especially at the gateway leading to Botolph Wharf—which, it will be remembered, was the head of the oldest known London Bridge—where the piles were placed as closely together as they could be driven; as well as for some distance on each side. In certain parts of the line, the embankment was formed by substantial walling, as at the foot of Fish Street Hill.'[3]

All these accounts, however, are very vague. Even where the narrator descends to measurements he never supplies the diagram which is essential to their understanding. With the recent discovery in Miles Lane before us, we can reconstruct a fragment of the early river-bank. We can picture a line—perhaps a double line[4]—of great horizontal timbers, bound together by short cross-walls, and either filled with earth or covered by flooring which has entirely disappeared; while jetties stood out over the mud and water on its south. Later in the Roman occupation the mud was reclaimed, and the line of the river-wall probably at this point lay along the north side of Upper Thames Street. Further reclamation went on after the Roman departure until, in the twelfth century, Old London Bridge left the bank a few feet south of St. Magnus church. At the present time, the edge of Fishmongers' Hall Wharf coincides with the

[1] W. Herbert, *History of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane*, 14–18. See also *Archaeologia*, xxv, 601.

[2] C. R. Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, 18, and *Archaeologia*, xxix, 150–1, and lxiii, 307–9.

[3] *Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xxiii and xxiv.

[4] Prof. W. R. Lethaby writes: 'The flanking wood walls which ran back so much farther than the others seem to have been in such a definite relation to the brick building that I think one work must have belonged to the other. I feel that the wood wall front was a sort of wharfing for levelling up the site of the building, and that the two side walls bounded this particular piece of levelling up. I would venture to suggest that the short intermediate divisions were ties into the made-up ground at the back. I doubt the idea that there was a second inner line making up a thick city wall. The plan of the brick building suggested a simple corridor house.'

third starling of the old bridge. So far, since Roman times, have the houses at this point encroached upon the Thames and narrowed its waters.

As the river has become narrower, both by the outgrowth of building on this side and by embankment on the other, so the tides have been forced farther up its channel and higher up its banks. As indicated on the section (fig. 9) the modern level of mean high water rises more than 4 ft. above the top of our embankment, so far as it remained; a further 2 ft. must be allowed for high spring tides. It is impossible to estimate how much of the top of the embankment, if any, has been removed, or with any exactitude how far the mean level of high water has risen since Roman times, and the question is complicated by the discovery, north of the embankment, of the remains of a brick building (indicated in stipple on the plan, fig. 8), which is next to be described. If this building was erected prior to the river-wall, while the Thames still washed the wooden embankment, then it is difficult to believe that the highest tides, coming right up to the embankment only 20 ft. away, reached far above the base of its walls. If, on the other hand, the building is later than the river-wall, then there is perhaps no reason why its floor-level should not have been below high-water mark.

Perhaps the details of the remains of the building will give us some clue. It will be seen from the plan that it is the southern end of a rectangular house, 31 ft. in breadth, standing about 20 ft. away from, and not quite parallel to, the embankment. The length of the east and west walls could not be determined, for they continued under Imrie House, immediately on the north. The external wall was 3 ft. 3 in. in width, and remained to a height of a little more than 3 ft. above its foundations, the top of which was 9 ft. below the surface of the concrete. Parallel to the eastern wall, and nearly 4 ft. from it, stood a similar wall, probably slightly thicker, for its western face was not uncovered; and under the whole of its length, immediately above the foundations, ran a corbelled brick drain, the section of which is seen in fig. 11. Externally the walls seemed to be composed entirely of the usual red tiles, each 16 in. by 11 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., set fairly closely in yellow mortar—roughly each foot of height contained five tiles and the intervening mortar—and the upper surface was clean and well preserved, showing no clear evidence of ever having stood to a greater height. In two places—in the centre of the south side, and near the eastern corner—the upper surface appeared to have been patched, for the top three layers of tiles, over a width of about 3 ft. and nearly the whole thickness of the wall, had been replaced by a layer of roughly squared ragstone. Only in the eastern corner was the wall completely demolished by the contractors, and here it was seen that though the top 8 in. and the bottom 10 in. were built entirely of tiles, in the central portion of about 20 in. the tiles formed only a facing, and the core of the

wall consisted of solid yellow mortar. The foundations were revealed at both the eastern and western corners, and were there composed of 2 ft. of flints in yellow mortar, above 2 ft. of chalk, the last resting on the solid grey clay. Behind the middle of the south wall, from the level of the foundations up to the underside of the concrete raft, was packed a mass of flints in loose mortar, and the same thing occurred, though more disturbed by the admixture of made earth, between the two eastern walls; but it is impossible to tell whether this feature was contemporary with the Roman walls or the concrete raft. There was no indication of the floor-level within the walls.

In the eastern corner was found the only evidence of any relation between the building and the embankment. Here, beside and among the foundations,

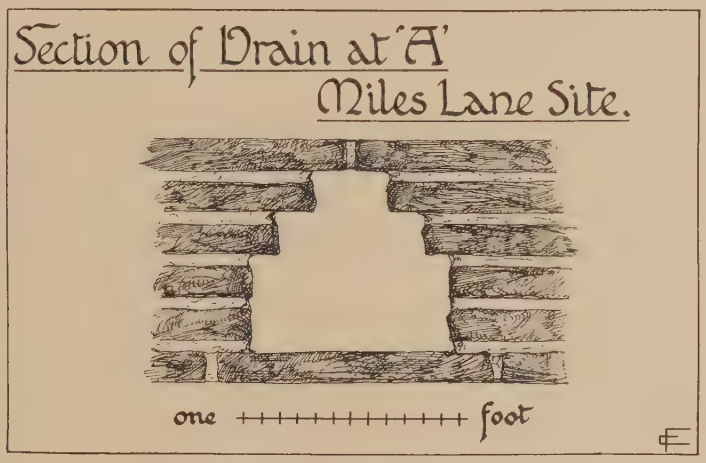


Fig. 11. Miles Lane Site : Section of Drain.

rather more than 9 ft. below the surface of the concrete, were four oak baulks. In each case only one end was exposed, but all seemed to be loose and disconnected; the largest was of the average size of the beams of the main timber wall, and the others rather smaller than the beams of the cross-walls. Otherwise, though none showed any sign of half-lapping or other form of joint, they looked very like some part of the embankment demolished for the erection of the house. In the nature of things the house must have been built later than the embankment, and the presence of these beams among its foundations, as well as the slight difference of its frontage, seem at first sight to place it considerably later.

A constructive detail which is generally thought to have some chronological importance, at least where bricks are used as bonding-courses or facing, is the thickness of the mortar joints. Roughly, the narrower the joint, the earlier is the work. Our $1\frac{3}{4}$-in. bricks, as can be seen in fig. 11, have $\frac{3}{4}$-in. joints. In

Rome this proportion of bricks to mortar, as 7 : 3, would date a building before the end of the first century,[1] but whether a criterion derived from the facing-work of the imperial capital can be applied to walls built almost entirely of bricks, as these are, in the distant provinces, is open to doubt. If it can, then this building must be almost contemporary with the embankment, and both must date about A. D. 100, perhaps two centuries before the permanent river-wall.

The question of the height of the tide remains, and we have now several data, on which it may be possible to base an estimate of the rise since the end of the first century.

(1) If the brick building is contemporary with the wooden embankment, and closely connected with it—as from the whole plan, the details of construction, and the dating of the finds it would appear to be—then the highest tides can scarcely have reached higher than its base, which is now 7 ft. below mean high water. The floor-level was not found, but it is improbable that it was above the top of the brick walls as they remained.

(2) The embankment affords no evidence, for some of it may have been removed. It is unlikely, however, that the tide washed over the piles and camp-sheeting immediately south of the embankment. The top of these is 6 ft. below present mean high water.

(3) The floor of the bath found in 1848 under the Coal Exchange in Lower Thames Street[2] was 10 ft. below the pavement (which is at that point 2 ft. lower than at the bottom of Miles Lane), and is therefore now just below mean high water. It was in fact flooded during the course of its excavation. The drainage of this bath would necessitate a drop of several feet from the floor-level to the level of high water.

If these several points were all safely above the highest normal tides, we can only conclude that those tides now rise more than 6 ft. higher than they did in Roman times.

This conclusion obviously raises questions too large to follow out in this paper. For instance, it suggests that the Walbrook was only navigable for a very short distance from its mouth; it materially influences any estimate of the area south of the Thames, between Vauxhall and Deptford, which was originally covered at high water; and, taking into consideration the greater scour of the narrower river, it increases the possibility of fords at Westminster or London Bridge. These, however, are matters which must be left to a broader study of the conditions of Roman London, which may become clearer in the light of future discoveries.

[1] J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i, 61, and illustrations in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2nd Ser., xvi, 230 ff.

[2] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, iv, 38, and xxiv, 295.

II. 122 London Wall.

The demolition of no. 122 London Wall early in 1920 exposed a short portion of the Roman Wall; and, although this site does not belong to the two groups mentioned in the introductory paragraph, yet it is in the immediate neighbourhood of the second group (see fig. 14), and a description of the several unusual features of this piece of wall may serve to lead up to the history of the Moorfield that afterwards lay outside it.

The house stands at the corner where London Wall is intersected by Cole-

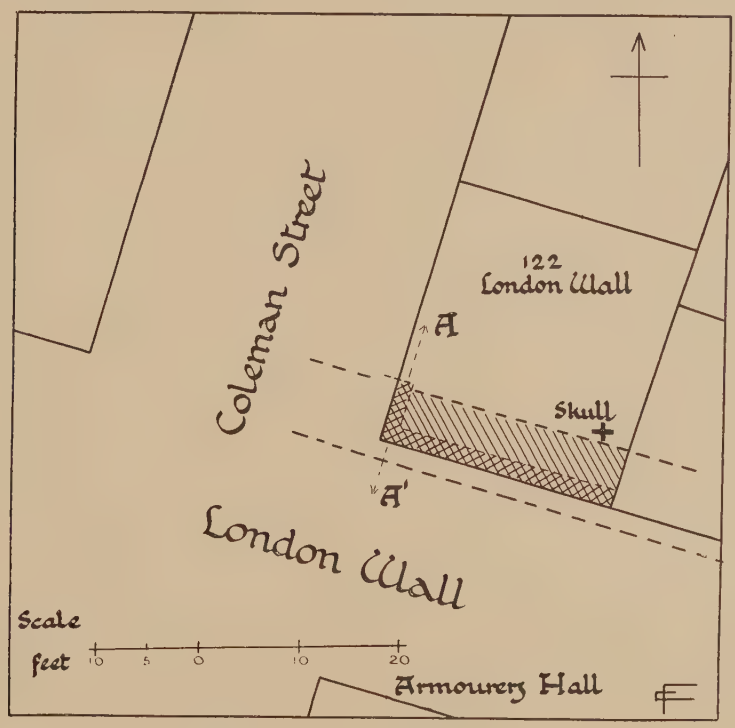


Fig. 12. 122 London Wall: Plan.

man Street, opposite the Hall of the Armourers' Company (see fig. 12). It is well known that at this point the remains of the Wall form the foundations of the front of the houses on the north side of the street, the greater part of its breadth lying under the houses, and a fringe under the pavement.[1] An inspection of the cellar of no. 122 before demolition showed that it had at this point been cut back almost to the building line, and down about 10 ft. below the level of the pavement.

In the portion of their site occupied by the Wall, the excavators had three

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxiii, 270.

tasks: to cut the Wall back completely to the line of the pavement, and to sink a hole down its face to the gravel at either end, against Coleman Street on the west, and against the adjoining house, no. 121, on the east. Each of these pieces of work revealed an unexpected fact.

The removal of the modern bricks of the cellar and the cutting back of the Wall showed that here it had not been built with the uniform care which is found practically throughout its length. Usually the rubble of the interior is laid in rough courses, corresponding approximately with the squared ragstone of either face; but here this regularity was wanting, and large fragments of bonding-tiles and even roofing-tiles were scattered quite indiscriminately among the ragstone and mortar. A very haphazard extra layer of bonding-tiles could be traced under the third course above the plinth. The irregularity did not appear to be due to subsequent rebuilding, for the actual double row of tiles which formed the bonding-course was undisturbed.

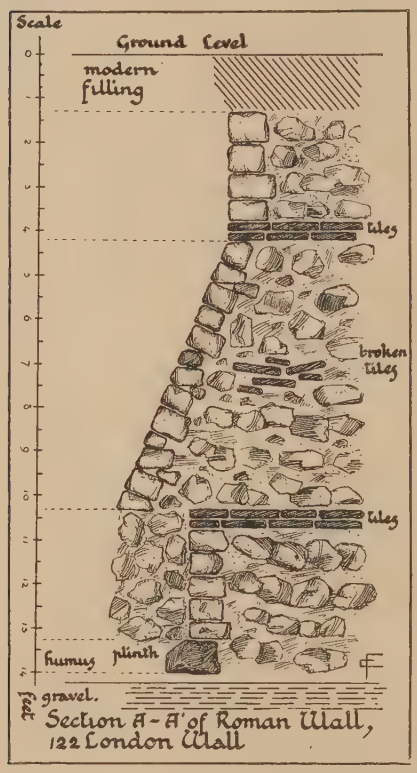


Fig. 13. London Wall Site: Section of Roman Wall.

In a vague note about an excavation which took place in 1882, apparently between our present site and Moorgate Street,[1] Loftus Brock stated that 'a mass of the well-known salmon-coloured concrete, formed of pounded red brick, evidently from some other building, was built up in the wall as old material. Several scored flue-tiles were also found during the excavations, and others and thick roofing-tiles had also been used in the composition of the wall.' In the article on the Wall in the *Victoria County History of London*[2] a suggestion is made, based on this account, that a bastion stood on this spot, and a bastion is therefore indicated on the accompanying plan, c 33. No trace of a bastion was, however, found in the present excavation.

The section which appeared at the western end of our stretch of wall along the pavement of Coleman Street (see fig. 13) showed undoubted reconstruction of Roman date. Here a short stretch of the plinth was uncovered, the top

[1] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, xxxviii, 424-6. The number of the house is given as 55, which was then, and still is, at the other end of the street; but it is stated that the site was close to Finsbury Place (i.e. Finsbury Pavement) and extended through to Fore Street.

[2] *V. C. H. London*, i, 61.

of it 13 ft. 3 in. below ground. Above it came five rows of squared ragstone, very well preserved. The foundations were not exposed, but the use of a probe demonstrated that they did not project more than 6 in. beyond the plinth. In front of the lower part of the Wall was a closely packed mass, 20 in. in width and resting on the gravel, of rough lumps of ragstone with mortar adhering to them, such as are found in the interior of the Wall. From the front of this mass, at the level of the first bonding-course, a new face sloped back, most of the squared ragstones which composed it being set at right angles to the slope, but some trimmed and laid parallel to the ground. Four feet from the present ground-level, and 9 in. behind the lowest part of the Wall, this new face resumed the vertical.

What had happened to the Wall is fairly clear. When the earth had accumulated outside it as high as the first bonding-course, the face either fell or was battered down; the signs of hasty construction a few feet away suggest that it may not have been built quite so strongly as the rest of the Wall. It was rebuilt from the new ground-level, and the old materials were used again; but in rebuilding, the base of the Wall was broadened, the fallen rubble used as foundations for the extension, and the new face built with a batter.

No suggestion can be made concerning the date of this repair, for it is impossible to estimate the length of time which should be allowed for the difference between the two ground-levels. Probably the accumulation against the Wall would be rapid, and even if its original building be put as late as A.D. 300, there would still be time enough before the departure of the Romans for this rise. The discovery does not, however, afford any real evidence for the dating of the Wall.

The third find worthy of record was the skull, half buried upside down in the gravel, 2 ft. from the plinth at the east end of this stretch of wall, which Professor Sir Arthur Keith has described in Appendix I. With it was found some part of the skeleton of a horse.

III. Moorfields.

Excavation on a large scale in and about Finsbury Circus has provided an unrivalled opportunity for studying the conditions not only of the marsh of Moorfields, which was so important a feature of the medieval map of London, but also of the ground in Roman or pre-Roman times, before the marsh had gathered. In regard to the title of this section, the distinction must be kept in mind between the street now named Moorfields (it was known as Little Moorfields before 1876) and the larger district to which the name applied till the nineteenth century. It is with the larger district and its history that we are concerned. The sites in question are first nos. 12 to 26 Finsbury Circus and the

adjoining nos. 20 to 31 Eldon Street, and second nos. 4 to 6 Finsbury Circus and (subsequently) the adjoining nos. 34 to 40 Finsbury Pavement[1] (see fig. 14). The first site was the property of the Corporation of London; the second was inspected by courtesy of the owners.

Before dealing with the facts brought to light by the digging at these several

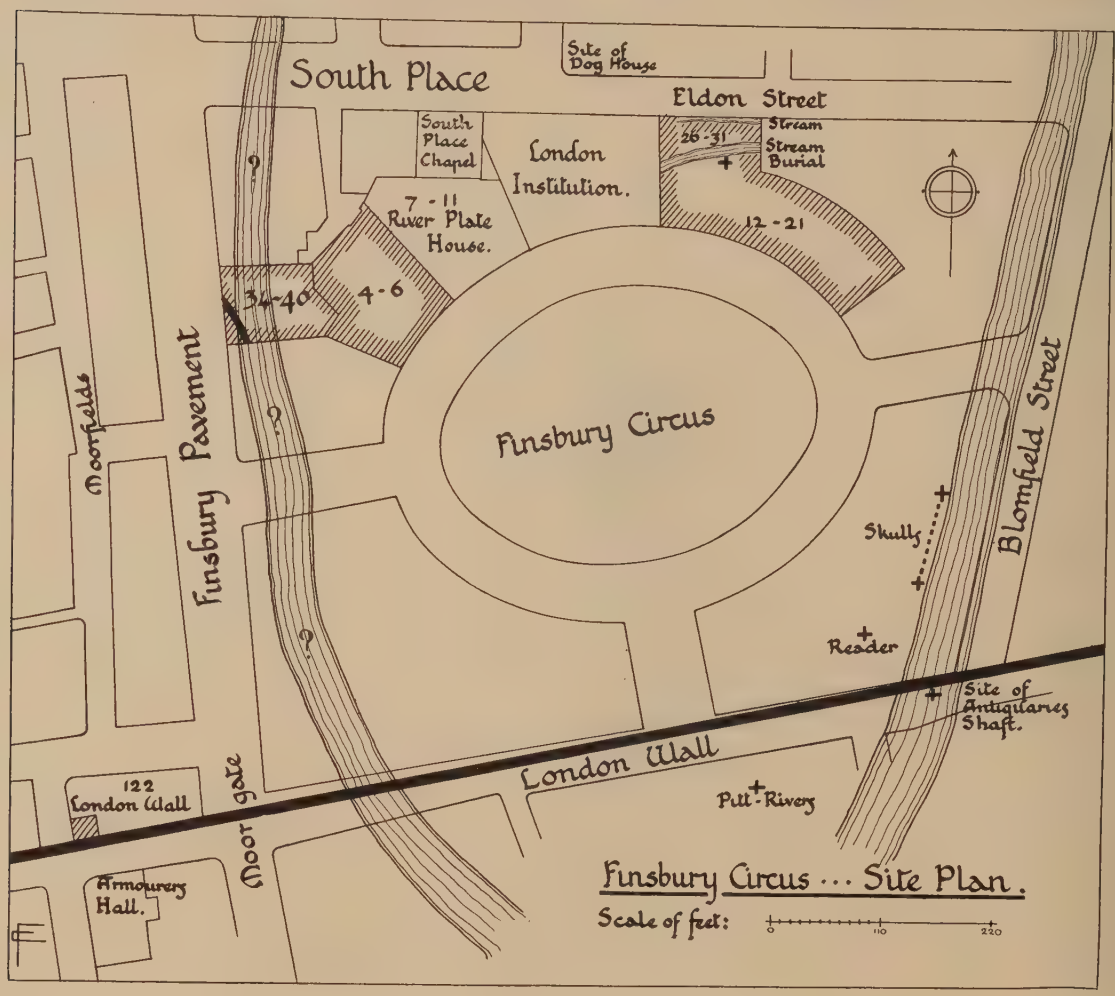


Fig. 14. Moorfields Site: Plan.

spots, I propose to summarize what is already known about the condition, both in Roman times and through the middle ages to the nineteenth century, of this neighbourhood of Moorfields, and to include in the summary some unpublished material for the study of the later part of its history. Most of the facts are readily accessible and well known to students of London topography.[2] It is necessary,

[1] Now (since 1st January 1922) re-named 'Moorgate' and re-numbered.
[2] See Mr. F. W. Reader's summary in *Arch. Journ.*, lx, 139–55.

however, to run rapidly over them, both in order to make quite clear the relation of the historical facts to the recent archaeological finds, and because the current records of the Corporation, especially the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, contain a number of unpublished details of the reclaiming and planning and laying out of the swamp at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Not all these details are relevant to the excavations, but the excavations, and the need of explaining the sections found in them, led to the searching of the records; and, dealing as they do with the creation of London's earliest public park, they have their own interest and importance in the topographical history of the city.

At this point, in Roman times, the Walbrook passed in two branches through the Wall, and it would appear that its imperfect passage through the culverts, and the consequent accumulation of a muddy deposit against the Wall, was the ultimate origin of the marsh.[1] The main stream, along what is now Blomfield Street, is well known from Elizabethan maps and modern investigations, and two recorded sites have shown something of the condition of the stream and its banks. General Pitt-Rivers in 1866 watched an excavation in London Wall and published the results,[2] but by a lapse remarkable in so distinguished an archaeological pioneer, he did not define the position of the site. The evidence, however, seems to show that it was just south of Circus Place, and therefore inside the Wall and on the right bank of the stream. Mr. F. W. Reader, in the face of difficulties and discouragements which would have baffled Roach Smith himself, examined in 1903 the south-eastern corner of Finsbury Circus.[3] Both of these sites revealed pile-dwellings of Roman date; both showed Roman objects at various depths in the peat and silt, proving that, at least on the river-banks, the formation of the marsh had begun in Roman times; and on both were found, at the bottom of the stream, many human skulls, but no other human bones. In 1905, under the auspices of this Society, a shaft was sunk opposite Carpenters' Hall, and here again a skull was found, imbedded in the foundations of the Wall.[4]

The evidence for the western branch is circumstantial, depending on Stow's description[5] of 'an Iron grate on the channell which runneth into the watercourse of Walbrooke before ye came to the Posterne called Moorgate: and this is the farthest west part of that [i.e. Broad Street] ward', and on a northern continuation of the boundary between Broad Street and Coleman Street wards.[6] The recent excavations, as will be seen shortly, have produced further evidence for this western branch.

Roman burials from this district are not unknown, but with the exception

[1] *Archaeologia*, lx, 174–5, and lxiii. 316.
[2] *Anthr. Review*, v (1867), lxxi.
[3] *Arch. Jour.*, lx, 179-203.
[4] *Archaeologia*, lx, 169.
[5] Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 175.
[6] J. E. Price, *Bucklersbury Pavement*, 48.

of the cemetery on the site of Liverpool Street Station and the earlier Bethlem Hospital, which stood on the edge of the medieval marsh, they have been so vaguely recorded, both in regard to place and circumstances, that they are of little archaeological value. In 1841, describing excavations in Blomfield Street,[1] Roach Smith stated that 'towards Eldon Street many well-preserved urns were found, probably deposited for funereal purposes'. A later account by J. E. Price drops all reservations, and affirms that 'in Eldon Street cinerary urns were found in the year 1841, and in 1868 an interment by cremation was met with in Blomfield Street on the site of Old Bethlehem Hospital'.[2] The best find is a child-burial (with a gold coin of Salonina, wife of Gallienus), vaguely catalogued as 'found in Moorfields', in 1873.[3] The imperfect Corporation record of demolitions contains no mention of work in the neighbourhood of Moorfields in that year except the great clearance for Liverpool Street Station. Possibly the child-burial was an outlying member of the cemetery on that site. Unsatisfactory as are these several records of interments, it is at least clear that some part of the area was dry ground as late as the third century. The recent excavations have produced another burial.

Here, as elsewhere throughout London, there is a great gap between the end of the Roman period and the early middle ages. The reference to the Moor, from Cripplegate to the Walbrook, in William I's charter of 1068 to St. Martin's-le-Grand[4] is well known, but throws no light on its condition. Fitzstephen's equally familiar picture[5] shows it, a century later, to have been a shallow lake rather than a moor in the modern sense of the word. Doubtless the cutting of the city ditch in 1211–13[6] helped to drain this lake, and to reduce it to the marshy condition which prevailed till the end of the sixteenth century.

The earliest mention of Moorfields in the records of the Corporation appears to be an entry in the Mayor's Court Rolls (Roll D, mem. 10 b), dated 19th June 1301, dealing with a dispute about the possession of a boat which a civic official used in the inspection of the ground. It runs:

> Thomas de Donecastre attachiatus fuit ad respondendum Radulfo Pekoc qui sequitur pro communitate civitatis de placito transgressionis et unde queritur quod cum die veneris proximo ante festum sancti Botulfi anno regni regis E xxix° dictus Radulfus venisset cum vallectis suis viz Willelmo Pointel Ricardo de Hattefeld Roger Sueting

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxix, 153.

[2] *Proceedings* vi, 171. The find of 1868 is a glass vessel now at Guildhall. But Price's map of the Walbrook puts it on the other side of the stream. See *Lon. and Mid. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, iii, 492.

[3] Formerly in the Mayhew Collection, now in the British Museum. See *Jour. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, xxxi, 209.

[4] Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 12, and *Eng. Hist. Review*, xi, 731.

[5] Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 93.

[6] *Ibid.*, i, 19.

Thomas Bruming et Johanni Mareschal ad moram cominam extra Bissopesgate et intrassent batellam praedicti Willelmi Pointel ad supervidendum moram et pratum civitatis nequid ibi malefactum seu asportatum fuisset iidem Radulfus et alii invenerunt pratum in parte falcatum et asportatum ad valenciam viii^{s} qui prosequentes et circumspicientes perceperunt herbam sic falcatam asportatam esse infra clausum dicti Thome alloquentes eundem Thomam super transgressionem praedictam factam communitati. qui venit cum vallectis suis viz Radulfo Alexandro Roberto le Gardiner et Rogero le Messager et in ipsos Radulphum Pekoc et alios verberaverunt et male tractaverunt et eisdem praedictum batellum abstulerunt ad dampnum etc et contra pacem etc.

The defendant, described also as Thomas of Bedlam, denied the charge and asserted that the boat was his; a week later, however, he returned it, and was committed to prison. The statement shows that at the beginning of the fourteenth century the Moorfield was either a water-meadow or was intersected by trenches broad and deep enough to carry a boat containing six passengers.

It is not till the beginning of the fifteenth century that we find any further record of the city authorities taking an active interest in the state of the moor. On 12th January 1411–12 the Mayor and some aldermen rode through 'a certain postern in the north wall between Bishopsgate and Cripplegate', crossed the ditch and inspected the moor. Finding it covered with gardens, trees, hedges, as well as rubbish and filth, and finding the ditch filled, they ordered all these obstructions to be removed, very appropriately, before 2nd February—the Feast of the Purification. The moor was then described as one of the strongest defences of the city—*pars fortior et inexpugnabilior*.[1]

Three years later, on 2nd July 1415, the Common Council discussed the condition of a 'certain watery and vacant piece of land, called the Moor, situate beneath the walls of the City, and lying to the North thereof . . . by reason whereof very many cellars and dwelling-houses were overflowed, in divers streets and lanes, to the said moor near and adjoining'. It was stated that the land had of old been alternately cultivated and left vacant, and the decision was made to let it out in what would now be called allotments, divided by paths lengthwise and across. Clearly the area was at this time either dryer as a whole than it had been when Ralph Pekoc rowed over it in his boat, or it was dryer near Moorgate than it was near Bishopsgate and Bedlam.[2]

By the same enactment of the Court it was ordered that the 'Little Postern built of old in the wall' should be destroyed, and the gate afterwards known as Moorgate erected in its place. This piece of work is important, because at the same time it seems to indicate an increase of population in this northern border

[1] Letter Book I, fo. 111.

[2] Letter Book I, fo. 152, quoted by H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London*, 614–15. See also Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 32, and ii, 76.

of London, and it afforded that population a readier access to the Moor, whether for the cultivation of their gardens or for other purposes. One purpose to which the Moor was put after this date was clearly revealed in the recent excavations.

In 1498 the gardens in the northern part of the Moor 'aboute and beyonde the Lordship of Finsbery' were abolished, and Finsbury Fields became the great practice-ground for archers.[1]

In 1512, and again in 1527, it was found necessary to trench and drain the Moor.[2] The only references to these operations in the Corporation records are the following, which are found in the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen.

12 December 1509. M. ffitzwillyam, M. Butteler } appoynted and namyd to view the more grounde with Richd Googh underchamberlen and to make reporte to the corte in what condicion the same grounde standith yn. (Rep. 2, fo. 77 b.)

14 January 1511–12. Also it is agreed that the Chamberleyn of the Citie shall cause a grounde called the mooreffelde to be levelled by the authorytye of my lord maier and of the Shrevys of the Citie And over that to provide a convenyent place for the Doggehous of the comen hunte of the Citie and that the olde hous be removed. (Rep. 2, fo. 126 b.)

1 September 1528. Also yt ys agreed that the Chamberleyn shall by his discrecion have communicacion with Thomas a Conne plumere for such money as he shall have for his labour and payne that he hath borne and susteynde in the moreffelde And thereof to make reporte to the courte. (Rep. 7, fo. 280.)

All these attempts to reclaim the swamp by digging trenches and draining the surface-water into the ditch proved in the end failures, and Stow's allusion to the work of 1512 points to the next means that was to be tried by the authorities.[3] 'Roger Acheley, Mayor', he writes, 'caused Dikes and Bridges to bee made, and the ground to bee leviled, and made more commodious for passage, since which time the same hath beene heighthened. So much that the Ditches and Bridges are covered, and seemeth to me that if it be made levell with the Battlements of the Cittie Wall, yet will it bee little the dryer, such is the Moorish nature of that ground.' The alternative, that is, to drainage was the obliteration of the swamp by filling it in and raising the general level of the ground; and this was the method adopted both in the large scheme which began in 1606 and resulted in the conversion of Moorfields into a public park, and also in the restoration which was found necessary a century later.

For some years before the actual beginning of the park-planning, considerable attention had been paid to the fields. For instance, on 9th January

[1] Stow (ed. Kingsford), ii, 76-7.

[2] Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 32, and ii, 77.

[3] Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 32.

1592–3, two Aldermen, Mr. Rivers and Mr. Nicholas, were appointed 'to viewe moorfields and to take order that the same be kept cleane and not to be annoyed by parret or anye other with anye donge, fylthe or rubbyshe, at anye tyme heareafter'.[1] And again, the king, writing to the Corporation on 24th July 1603, begins, 'Right trusty and welbeloved, wee greet you well. We have ben informed by some persons of greatest inwardness and trust about us, and have alsoe perceaved by our own observation that you have of late bestowed no small cost in things that doe concerne the ornament of that our Cittie, as namely in the walkes of Morefeilds, a matter both of grace and of greate use for the recreation of our people. . . .'[2]

From the end of 1605 the progress of the work can be traced fairly clearly in the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, with an occasional reference in the Journals of the Common Council and the Letter Books. A start was made with the quarter known as Lower Moorfields, which extended from London Wall to the line of South Place and Eldon Street, and lay within the city boundaries, forming part of the ward of Coleman Street. Middle Moorfields, between Eldon Street and Finsbury Square, followed next, and Upper Moorfields, occupying the site of Finsbury Square, was dealt with last. The entries for the most part speak for themselves, and are therefore quoted as they stand.

Lower Moorfields.

19 December 1605. Item it is ordered that S^r^ Thomas Bennett knight shall have full power and absolute authoritie from this Co^rt^ to compound and agree with the tenant w^ch^ holdeth moorefeilds, to surrender the lease thereof or otherwise howsoever, and what end he shall make therein this Co^rt^ will allow etc. (Rep. 27, fo. 135 b.)

21 January 1605–6. Item it is ordered that S^r^ Thomas Bennett S^r^ Thomas Cambell and S^r^ Wm Romeney, knights shall conferr with [John] Percivall a gardener touching the keeping and ordering of moorefields. (Rep. 27, fo. 142.)

6 March 1605–6. Item it is ordered that Mr Chamberlen shall paye to John Percivall and Michaell Wilson gardiners yearly v^l^ a piece and xii^d^ a piece for every daye they shall work to levell the two Moorefields viz^t^ little moorefields[3] and greate moorefields and to plant the same with such trees as they shalbe directed by order of this court, The sayde v^l^ and xii^d^ a piece to be payd unto them quarterly the first payment to be made at midsomer next. (Rep. 27, fo. 171.)

27 June 1606. And it is further enacted graunted and agreed by the authoritie aforesaid that all suche moneys as have alreadie byn disbursed and laide out aboute the removinge of annoyances in and aboute moorefielde levelling the grounde there and

[1] Letter Book X, fo. 199, and Rep. 17, fo. 442 b. Who Master Parret was does not appear in any other entry.

[2] *Remembrancia*, ii, 354.

[3] The strip of ground on the west of the road outside Moorgate, shown clearly in Faithorne's map (fig. 17), and not to be confused with Middle Moorfields.

makinge of the twoe sewers for freshe and fowle water As also for all suche moneys as shall hereafter be expended aboute the fynishing of the same workes shalbe from tyme to tyme paide and disbursed by the Bridge Masters oute of the citties money restinge in theire accompte So as the total some of the same disbursem[ts] doe not exceede the some of foure hundred poundes. (Jor. 27, fo. 54, and Letter Book CC, fo. 159.)

On 7th August 1606 the Chamberlain was ordered by the Common Council to pay £200 'and such further sums as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen shall think fit' to Nicholas Leate for the work in Moorfields (Jor. 27, fo. 77, and Letter Book CC, fo. 169), and herein occurs the first mention of the man who seems to have been chiefly responsible for its completion. He was a merchant doing large business with the east, who became Master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1616, 1626, and 1627, was a captain of trained bands in 1625, and died in 1631. His interest in horticulture was always keen, and the herbalists Gerard and Parkinson credit him with the introduction to England of the Persian lily, the double yellow rose, the beet, and other plants. Doubtless this interest accounted largely for his activity in Moorfields.[1]

2 September 1606. Item it is ordered that the Chamberlen shall deliver to Richard ffoxe and Nicholas Leate soe manye of the cittyes oken rayles as they shall think fitt to be sett up for stopping the passage through moorefieldes, they giving their promises for returning them, or soe much money for the same as the com councell shall appoint. (Rep. 27, fo. 259 b.)

11 September 1606. Item it is ordered that a brickwall shalbe presently built from moregate to the rayles at the upper end of moorefields[2] of the height of fower foote above the ground besyds the coping. (Rep. 27, fo. 265.)

9 October 1606. Item it is ordered that M[r] Chamberlen shall presently pay to Nicholas Leate, Threasorer for the moneys levyed for cleansing the cittyes ditches and for levelling the moorefields the some of four hundred pounds, to be by him disbursed towards the finishing of the sayd works. (Rep. 27, fo. 284 b.)

11 November 1606. Item it is ordered that M[r] Chamberlen shall paye to Nicholas Leate Iremonger the sum of cc[l] towards the finishing of the works begon in the moorefieldes. (Rep. 27, fo. 300.)

25 November 1606. Item it is ordered that W[m] Fowler clerk of the cittyes works shall deliver to Richard ffoxe clothworker and Nicholas Leate Iremonger so much oken timber from ledenhall[3] as shalbe needfull for poasts and rayles for the moore-fields. (Rep. 27, fo. 305 b.)

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and J. Nicholl, *History of the Ironmongers' Company*, 554-9.

[2] The rails along the city boundary between Lower and Middle Moorfields, shown clearly in the Agas map (fig. 15). This wall is absent in Faithorne's map (fig. 16).

[3] For the storage of timber at Leadenhall, see Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 158 (quoting a petition of 1519): 'As also the store of tymber for the necessarie reparations of the tenements belonging to the chamber of the said citie, there commonly hath ben kept.'

11 March 1606–7. Item it is ordered that Sir Thomas Bennett Sir Leonard Hallidaye Sir Humfrey Weld Sir Thomas Cambell and Sir John Swynnerton knights or anye three or more of them, shall viewe the works alreadye done in moorefields, and consider what is fitte and needfull to be done more and make report to this court of their opinions therein And George West to warne them, and to attend on them. (Rep. 27, fo. 366.)

19 March 1606–7. Item it is ordered that M^r^ Chamberlen shall deliver to Nicholas Leate Iremonger and Richard Fox Clothworker the some of cc^l^ and that the Bridgemaisters [shall] deliver to them other cc^l^ the sayd some to be [disbursed] towards finishing the works in moorefields. (Rep. 27, fo. 370. In Letter Book CC, fo. 210, and Jor. 27, fo. 144 b, the same sums are named under date 26th March.)

4 June 1607. Item it is ordered that Nicholas Leate Iremonger appointed to paye and disburse the moneys for the works in morefields shall presently pay to Thomas Keyghtley Esquire for 107 Elmes set in the sayd fields after the rate of xx^d^ a tree. (Rep. 28, fo. 36 b.)

30 July 1607. Item it is ordered that the Bridgemaisters shall presently paye to Richard Fox Clothworker and Nicholas Leate Iremonger the somme of two hundred pounds to be by him imployed and disbursed for the finishing of the works in the morefields. (Rep. 28, fo. 71.)

4 August 1607. This daye it is ordered that the brickwall intended to be built from the stocks standing in the morefields along by the moore ditch into the corner of the garden in the tenure of [blank in MS.] and also the house intended to be built over the gate at the passage into the sayd fields from Bedlam [1] shalbe wholly forborne untill the next yeare, and that for the present there shalbe nothing done to the sayd fields but only to gravell them. (Rep. 28, fo. 71.)

26 May 1608. Item it is ordered that the Chamberlen shall disburse to Nicholas Leate Iremonger the somme of lx^l^ whereof xxx^l^ to be payd for work owing the last yeare x^l^ to be payd for rayles to be sett in the more fields betweene the liberties of this cittye and countye of Mdx [2] x^l^ for coping stones for the walles and x^l^ to finish the works there. (Rep. 28, fo. 212 b.)

1 February 1608–9. Item it is ordered that the Bridgemaisters shall forthw^th^ paye to George West the somme of lxxix^l^ xi^s^ i^d^ by him disbursed about the works in morefields over and above the sommes by him hitherto disbursed, and ordered that there shalbe no more charges disbursed in any of these works without consent of this court. (Rep. 28, fo. 334 b.)

7 June 1609. Item it is likewise enacted graunted and agreed that the brickwall in the southe parte of the moorefielde shalbe forthw^th^ fynished proportionably to that w^ch^ is alredie begone there, and the charge thereof to be borne equallie oute of the Chamber and Bridgehouse To be paide from tyme to tyme to George West uppon

[1] The mention of Bedlam suggests that by Moorditch is here meant Deep Ditch, the last remnant of the Walbrook; that the proposed wall ran along the eastern boundary of Lower Moorfields; and that the stocks stood in the south-eastern corner of the field, and the garden beside Bethlem churchyard. For the stocks, see p. 88 below.

[2] Along the line of South Place. See the Agas map (fig. 15).

such bills as shalbe signed under the hande of Nicholas Leate Iremonger and Richard Foxe Clothworker and allowed by the comptroller of the chamber. (Letter Book DD, fo. 57.)

21 November 1609. Item at the motion of Mr Nicholas Leate Iremonger it is ordered that precepts shalbe forthwith directed unto the Aldermen of the severall Wards desyring them to call before them the collectors appointed for the gathering of the money voluntary given or promysed towarde the fynishing of moorefields to thend the same may be presently paide to be imployed accordingly. (Rep. 29, fo. 130 b.)

23 November 1609. Item this day it is ordered that Mr. Chamberlen shall satisfy and pay unto George West, overseer of the citties workes, the some of fforty one pownds eleaven shillings and nyne pence, for worke and stuff in and about the walks in moorefields due by fyve severall bills subscribed by Mr Fox and Mr Leate surveyors to the said works who being here present in courte, doe affirme that they have examyned and audited the said bills, and that all therein contayned is due to be paid. And the said Mr Fox and Mr Leate and George West are required not to procede any further in any other charges, except only in coping of the walls, and gravelling of the walks, and setting of benches, without expresse order and direccion of this court. (Rep. 29, fo. 132.)

10 May 1610. Whereas at a courte here holden the xxiiith of November last it was ordered that there should be noe further proceeding in any charges towards the fynishing of the first moorefields, except onely in cooping the walls and gravelling of the walks and setting of benches without express order and direccion of this courte, It is therefore ordered that Mr Chamberlen shall forthwith pay unto the said Mr Leate such somes of money as he hath already disbursed, or shalbe disbursed for or concerning the same Coping, gravelling and Benches, and this shalbe his warrant in that behalf. (Rep. 29, fo. 224 b.)

Middle Moorfields.

10 May 1610. Item whereas two severall precepts have formerly bene directed by my Lord Maier to the severall Aldermen of every warde in this Citty for the collection and gathering of contributions of well disposed persons towards the levelling and fynishing of the second moorefields and little done in performance thereof It is therefore ordered that newe precepts shall forthwith be made and directed to every Alderman of this cittie thereby requiring every of them to elect and choose two comon counsellmen in theire particular warde, to take a reviewe of such former benevolences as have heretofore been contributed towards the levelling and fynishing of the said second Moorefields, and to reporte in their owne persons to every particular mans house in the said warde to demande and receave their gratuities and benevolences towards the said worke, and to keepe a true booke of theire names that shall contribute or refuse the same, and to certifie this courte thereof, and of such persons by whose means they shall finde the former service to have bene so neglected as aforesaid. (Rep. 29, fo. 224 b.)

10 May 1610. Item this courte hath entreated Mr Nicholas Leate Iremonger to take

care that the wardens in moorefields do performe theire duties as apperteyneth, and to displace such as shall not doe theire duties carefully and faithfully and (with the allowance of the Lord Maior for the tyme being) to place others in theire roomes. (Rep. 29, fo. 224 b.)

19 March 1610–11. Item it is ordered that Mr Chamberlen shall pay all the charges wch shalbe expended in making of a vault in morefieldes and for convayinge of the water out of the ditch there.[1] And this shalbe his warrant in that behalfe. (Rep. 30, fo. 88.)

6 March 1611–12. Item this day it is ordered, that Mr Lawrence Camp Citizen and Draper of London the late Treasurer of the benevolence lately given towards the levelling of the middle moorefeild shall presently satisfie and pay unto Mr Nicholas Leate Ironmonger all such money as remayneth in his hands of the said collection to be imployed for and towards the finishing thereof; And that Mr Nicholas Leate's receipt under his hand shalbe a sufficient warrant and discharge to Mr Camp for the payment thereof. (Rep. 30, fo. 291.)

Upper Moorfields.

6 March 1611–12. Item it is ordered that the right hoble the Lord Mayor Sr Thomas Bennett Sr Thomas Cambell Sr William Craven and Sr John Swynerton knights and Aldermen or any three of them calling to them Mr Fox and Mr Leate shall presently view the upper Moorefield and report unto this court how they think fitt the same should be levelled and whether it be not convenient to have a brick wall made along the highway and to consider whether it be fitt the Taynters should be removed and sett beyond the windmills. And thereof to make report of their opinions touching the same, And George West to warne and attend them. (Rep. 30, fo. 291.)

11 March 1612–13. Item it is ordered that Sr Thomas Bennett Sr James Pemberton Sr Thomas Hayes knights and Aldermen Mr Alderman Wyott Mr Alderman Smythes Mr Alderman Barkham Mr Sebright and Mr Leate Iremonger or any foure or more of them shall forthwth view the North parte of Moorefeilds how & in what sorte the same may be layed evener, and also the highway passing there between the taintors and the windemills and to consider how the same highway may be conveniently altered and made a straight passage to Dame Annis the cleere[2] And to make report thereof unto this court And John Savadge to warne and attend them. (Rep. 31, 1, fo. 60 b.)

4 May 1613. Item it is ordered by this court that the chargs already laied out, and to be laied out hereafter for the levelling walling rayling and fynishing of the upper moorefeilds in such manner as thother two feilds are now already done shalbe equally borne and paied by the chamber and bridghous And that Mr Chamberlen

[1] Is this the last of Deep Ditch and the Walbrook?

[2] The spring of Dame Annis was between the present Tabernacle Square and Old Street. The highway appears clearly on Faithorne's map (fig. 16), running north-east between the windmills north of Upper Moorfields and a large polygonal enclosure covered with tenters. It is called Windmill Hill in Roque's map and is now Tabernacle Street. See Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 16, and ii, 273.

shall presently pay unto George West Paym^{r} of these works the somme of cc^{l} and the like somme of cc^{l} to be paid unto him by the Bridgm^{rs} before the feast of Whitsontide next. (Rep. 31, 1, fo. 93.)

15 June 1613. Item it is ordered by this Court that the Bridgmaisters shall forthwth pay unto George West the somme of cc^{l} for and towards the fynishing of the upper moorefeilds And this shalbe his warrant for payment thereof. (Rep. 31, 1, fo. 114.)

27 July 1613. Item it is ordered that S^{r} Stephen Soame S^{r} Thomas Bennett S^{r} William Craven and S^{r} Thomas Midleton knights and Aldermen shall at foure of the clock this afternoone view the walls and walks in morefeilds and certifie this court of their opynions touching the same. (Rep. 3, 1, fo. 142.)

2 August 1613. It is ordered by this court that in the further Moorefeilds eastward a strong and substantiall wall shall forthwth be built a foote above ground being in height from the foundation thereof about Eleven foote[1] and the same so to be built from one end to the other. (Rep. 31, 1, fo. 148.)

14 December 1613. Item this day M^{r} Alderman Barkham and M^{r} Alderman Rotheram (comittee amongst others appointed to audite the accompt of George West touching Moorefeilds) did testifie to this Court that there is due unto the said George West upon the said Accompt the some of lxxvi^{l} xix^{s} ii^{d} Whereupon it is ordered by this Court that the Bridgmaisters shall forthwth pay unto the said George West the said some of lxxvi^{l} xix^{s} ii^{d} And this shalbe their warrant in that behalf. (Rep. 31, 2, fo. 229.)

27 April 1615. Item it is ordered by this court that S^{r} Thomas Bennett S^{r} William Craven and S^{r} John Swinarton knights shall forthwth confer wth the clothworkers that hould Tainters in the upper morefeilds touching some reasonable compensation and agreement to be made wth them for to remove them from there. And they to certifie to this court what they shall doe therein And John Bayard to warne and attend them. (Rep. 32, fo. 100.)

14 July 1615. Item it is ordered by this court that the upper ffeild next the Windemills already begun to be levelled and walled about wth brick shalbe fynished and M^{r} Alderman Leman M^{r} Alderman Wyott M^{r} Alderman Barkham M^{r} Humfrey Smyth and M^{r} Leate or any two of them whereof one to be an Alderman shall compound by the great[2] with the workemen to levell and wall the same And M^{r} Chamberlen to pay unto M^{r} Humfrey Smyth Treasorer for that worke the somme of cc^{l} forthwth to proceede in And M^{r} Humfrey Smyth and M^{r} Leate are entreated to have a speciall care of the said worke from tyme to tyme till it be fynished. (Rep. 32, fo. 149 b.)

5 December 1615. Item it is ordered by this court that M^{r} Chamberlen shall pay unto M^{r} Humfrey Smythe out of the chamber the some of cc^{l} to be expended by him for and towards the removing of the Taintors in the upper morefeilds and levelling the ground there and for other worke to be done touching the same. (Rep. 32, fo. 214.)

15 February 1615–16. This day the matters contayned in the peticion of Johan Jones

[1] Unless there is a mistake in these measurements, one can only suppose this wall to be along the bank of a stream, the last relic of a Walbrook tributary. Faithorne, however, shows no trace of a stream east of Upper Moorfields, nor any clear indication of a wall.

[2] Piece-work, or by agreement for a fixed charge for the whole work.

and Alice Webb poore cloathworkers widowes desiring some recompence for certaine tenem^{ts} taynters and fences of theirs w^{ch} are to be pulled downe for the levelling of the upper moore feilds, are by this court referred wth all favour to the consideracion of the comittees appointed for lettyng of the citties Lands, And they to sett down and make report unto this court under their hands what they think fitt to bee allowed the peticioners in regard of the losse of their foresaid tenem^{ts} and fences And ffrancis Southworth is appointed to warne and attend the said committees. (Rep. 32, fo. 246.)

9 April 1616. Item it is ordered by this court that M^{r} Chamberlen shall pay unto M^{r} Humfrey Smyth the some of cc^{l} to be expended in and about the levelling and walling of the upper morefeilds. (Rep. 32, fo. 271.)

7 November 1616. Item whereas by direccion of this court M^{r} Chamberlen hath disbursed the somme of clxxxiiij^{li} xvij^{s} ij^{d} for the levelling and walling of the mallowe feilds in the Lordship of ffinsbury comenly called the upper more feilds as appeareth by the weekely bills thereof signed by M^{r} Richard Fox clothworker who was appointed to order and oversee the same works it is ordered by this co^{rt} that M^{r} Chamberlen shalbe allowed the same money upon his Accompts and shall satisfie and pay all other bills signed and to be signed by the said M^{r} Fox for that business until the said works shalbe fynished. (Rep. 33, fo. 1 b.)

This is the last relevant entry before the large repairs of 1730. There are subsequent records of the mending of fences and lopping of trees and gravelling of walks, but nothing about new or original work, and we are left to guess the exact date on which Upper Moorfields was completed. If the closing words of the final entry mean anything, it should have been in 1617.

Before proceeding with our account, it would be well to summarize the evidence of the records. The work began, as already noted, in Lower Moorfields, with the contract at the rate of '£5 a year and 1*s.* a day' with John Percival and Michael Wilson. In the summer of 1606 these men were either superseded by or subordinated to Nicholas Leate and Richard Fox, who were associated with the undertaking to the end. The records are not clear about the finishing of Lower Moorfields; but the payment for trees already planted was authorized on 4th June 1607, and a dialogue called *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields*, by Richard Johnson,[1] published in 1607, shows that it was open to the public at latest by the autumn of that year, though later entries in the Repertories prove that the finishing touches had not been added. This pamphlet, of which the only three existing copies appear to be in the Bodleian Library, is mainly filled with a very bad poetic eulogy of London, and scraps of London history borrowed from Stow. The description of Lower Moorfields, however, where the conversation between a citizen of London and a gentleman from the country takes place, is well worth quoting. The dedication addressed to the

[1] See J. P. Collier, *Bibliographical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, i, 406.

Lord Mayor and Aldermen states that 'Those sweet and delightful walks of Morefields (right worshipfull) as it seems a Garden to this Citty, and a pleasurable place of sweet ayres for Cittizens to walk in, now made most beautiful by your good worships appointment, hath enboldened me to search for the true antiquity thereof', and the most relevant part of the dialogue runs thus:

Gent. To what use are these Fieldes reserved?

Cit. Only for Cittizens to walke in to take the ayre and for Merchants maides to dry clothes in, which want necessary gardens at their dwellings.

Gent. These walkes (Sir,) as it seemes, beares the fashion of a crosse, equally divided foure wayes, and like wise squared about with pleasant wals, the trees thereof makes a gallant shew, and yeelds unto mine eye much delight.

Cit. They may well, for the like border of trees are not at this day in al the land again, for they be in number within these walles two Hundred, four-score, and eleaven, besides those other standing west ward without, to the number of some foure or five and thirtie.

. . . . . .

Gent. I pray you how many Akars may this plot containe?

Cit. Marry Sir, within the walles some ten Akars, which was so measured out, and by a Plough made levell, as it is now, a thing that never hath been seene before to goe so neere London.

Gent. But why are these stockes of wood here provided, with such a huge chaine of yron lockt to the wall?

Cit. Onely as a punishment for those that lay any filthy thing within these fields, or make water in the same to the annoyance of those that walke therein, which evill favors in times past have much corrupted mans sences, and supposed to be a great nourisher of diseases.

Gent. That beares good reason, and the maner of this punishment I like well.

. . . . . .

Gent. It seemes they intend a further grace to these fields?

Cit. Their purpose is not fully knowne, but surely their interests are inclined to bountifull proceedings, as I heare, the building of certaine houses for shelters for maidens having their clothes lying there a drying, if at any time it should chance to raine.

There is no evidence that this interesting suggestion was carried out. Indeed the items of 1608, 1609, and the first half of 1610—the postponement of all but necessary work, the serious examination of accounts, and the attempts to raise a voluntary levy—point to a financial stringency due to the heavy expense of the undertaking, which had been borne partly by city cash, partly by the Bridge House Estate. The final plan and appearance of Lower Moorfields, known henceforth as the Quarters, because of its crossed avenues of elms, is

familar from the maps of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (fig. 16), and from prints of the transplanted Bethlem (fig. 17).

The levelling and planting of Middle Moorfields, carried out between 1610 and 1612, seem to have been paid for by an alleged voluntary levy, raised by the exercise of heavy moral pressure on the whole of the city. The avenue of trees here took the form of a St. Andrew's cross.

The completion of the whole task by the laying out of Upper Moorfields, 'the mallow fields in the Lordship of Finsbury', was a dilatory business. An inspection of the ground took place in March 1613, but nothing was done till

Fig. 15. Moorfields and neighbourhood, from the Agas map.

after another inspection a year later, when it was determined that the money should be found from the same two sources as in the case of Lower Moorfields. Clothworkers with their tenters occupied the ground and caused much delay; but the case of Joan Jones and Alice Webb suggests their final dispossession early in 1616. The last item, in November 1616 (in which, by the way, Richard Fox, who has not been mentioned for nearly five years, makes a sudden re-appearance), shows the work, as has already been noted, still incomplete.

In trying to determine the time and the manner of the completion of Upper Moorfields, we are faced with a considerable difficulty. On 4th May 1613, it was determined to lay out the last portion 'in such manner as the other two fields are now already done', and the last resolution of 1616 expresses at least the intention of carrying on to the end. Yet the earliest map which might throw

light on the question, that of Faithorne and Newcourt, published in 1658, but supposed to have been prepared ten years earlier, shows the Quarters and Middle Moorfields neatly laid out and planted, and Upper Moorfields walled,

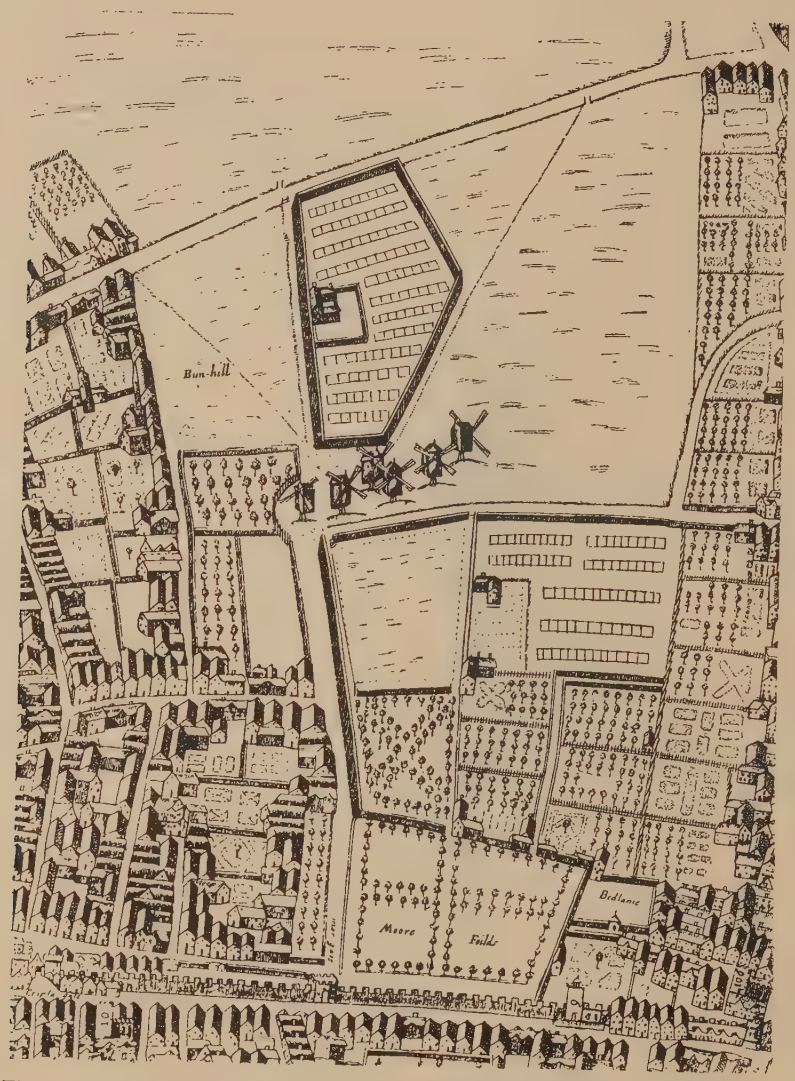


Fig. 16. Moorfields and neighbourhood, from Faithorne and Newcourt's map.

but otherwise untouched. Is it possible that, at the time of publication, Faithorne's map was forty years out of date? Yet in two other details in this very section the map is demonstrably accurate, for it shows, in the Wall just west of All Hallows church, the postern of Little Moorgate, which is neither indicated in the Agas map nor mentioned in Stow's list of gates and posterns,

but is stated by Strype [1] only to have been cut through 'about the year 1636'; and we have seen that the straightening of the high road to 'Dame Annis the cleere' is faithfully reproduced.

Let us turn to the other maps of the period. On Porter's map, issued about 1660, Middle Moorfields has a border of trees and a St. Andrew's cross of gravel walks, with four trees about its centre, and Upper Moorfields has a border of

A PROSPECT OF THE HOSPITALL CALLED BEDLAM FOR THE RELEIFE AND CURE
OF PERSONS DISTRACTED WAS BEGUN IN APRILL
AND FINISHED IN JULY

Fig. 17. Bethlem and the Quarters from the north in 1676. From a print in the Guildhall Library.

trees but no walks. Jonas Moore's 'Prospect and Map' of 1662 shows a St. Andrew's cross but no trees on Middle Moorfields, and nothing on Upper Moorfields. On Hollar's Survey after the Great Fire, both have a border of trees, but crossed walks without trees. On Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1677 Middle Moorfields is completely planted, but Upper Moorfields has a border of trees, and crossed walks without trees. As regards Middle Moorfields, these maps are inconsistent and irreconcilable; but the last four are consistent enough about Upper Moorfields to support the evidence of Faithorne and to make it

[1] 1720 ed., i, 1, 17.

probable that the intentions of 1616 were after all not immediately fulfilled; that in 1645 (the approximate date of Faithorne's evidence) the upper field had only been walled and levelled; and that the completion of the works may have been left as late as the Restoration. So far no documentary evidence has been found. The work may well have been carried out by some Committee of the Corporation whose Minutes have not survived. The City Lands Committee, for instance, is referred to as early as February 1616 (see p. 87 above) although their extant Journals do not begin until 1698.

Two events of widely different character left their mark upon Moorfields in the second half of the seventeenth century. The first of them, the Great Fire of 1666, led to the use of Moorfields as a temporary camping ground for thousands of homeless Londoners; and though there is no actual record either of damage or of restoration, the gardens must have suffered severely. The second was the removal of Bethlem in 1676 from its old position next the highway outside Bishopsgate to the south side of the Quarters, where it was placed with its back to London Wall, looking northward over the whole length of the three Moorfields to Hoggesdon. Contemporary prints of Bethlem after its rebuilding (as fig. 17) provide us incidentally with excellent views of the Quarters, and enable us to understand most clearly the recorded details—the posts and rails, the benches and trees and gravel walks—of the work that began in 1606.

A period of neglect followed, and by the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century the Quarters had fallen into desperate disrepair. In November 1729 the Court of Aldermen appointed a Committee to inspect, and three weeks later they reported as follows:

> 9 December 1729. This day the Committee appointed the Eighteenth of November last to View Moorfields Reported that they had accordingly Viewed the same and found the Quarters to be very much out of repair the Rails Round them being almost all broke and gone and the ground wore away so low that the Water stands therein which Causes a great stench and is become a great Nusance and they were of opinion the Rails should be repaired and made good and the Ground Raised to a Convenient Hight and some young Trees planted Round the said Quarters in the room of those fallen down or decayed Which Report was well liked and approved of by this Court and it is earnestly Recommended to the Committee for letting the Cities Lands forthwith to give such orders for the Repair and beautifying the said Quarters accordingly as they shall think convenient. (Rep. 134, fo. 55.)

The earnest recommendation of the Court did not, however, lead to precipitate action in midwinter. It was not till March 1730 that the Committee appointed a sub-Committee to inspect and report, and it was not till 6th May that the sub-Committee reported:

> In pursuance of your order of the Eleventh of March last We have viewed Moor-

fields and finding the same to lye in a very bad and ruinous condition We are of opinion the Quarters should be raised with Rubbish and that the Rails should be forthwith new made and we directed the Clerk of this Cities Works and this Cities Carpenter to make an Estimate of the Charge of New Railing.

The Committee approved, and at the same time, in a true spirit of economy, ordered:

That the Clerk of this Cities Works cause the Posts and Rails round the Quarters in Moorefeilds to be taken up & laid in the Back Kitchen in the Guildhall for this Cities use. (*Journal of the City Lands Committee*, 6th May 1730.)

Into the details of this work, which occupied a good deal of the Committee's attention till the end of 1735, we need not enter, for the items as recorded in their Journal deal chiefly with the arrangement of inspections, without throwing any light on the matter inspected. By 7th June 1732 three of the four quarters had been levelled. More interesting are the bills and contracts for the supply of material. The original estimate in 1730 for woodwork was 628*l.* 5*s.*, but in 1733 this was found to have been based on an unfortunate miscalculation, and the final cost was 1,095*l.* 12*s.* A proposal to plant limes instead of elms was rejected, and on 13th September 1732 a tender from Adam Holt was accepted for 231 trees, each 8 in. in girth and 15 ft. high, at sixteen pence apiece. At the same time gravel was ordered at three shillings for eighteen bushels.

Maitland adds a small but important detail omitted in the official records:

The *Quarters*, or lower *Moorfields*, was rais'd anew in the years 1730, 31, 32, with Rubbish and Street Dirt, about the Height of Three Feet; and being almost brought to a Level with the middle Field, 'twas beautifully inrailed and planted with Elm Trees.[1]

The other two fields were either in better condition than the Quarters or were regarded as less important, for they were not restored; and Roque's map (the large-scale edition of October 1746) shows the avenues in the Quarters neat and tidy, but those in the rest of Moorfields ragged and full of gaps.

Another period of neglect followed this burst of energy. Views of Bethlem at the beginning of the nineteenth century betray more eloquently than any description or official report the condition of the Quarters at the time when Keats was born in a house that overlooked them. A print dated 1811, for instance, in Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*,[2] shows the trees ragged and irregular, the posts and rails almost entirely gone, and the centre of the Quarters occupied by a shallow pond, with children sailing boats upon it. The

[1] 1739 ed., 506.

[2] Vol. x, pt. 3, p. 186.

next year saw the end of Moorfields. The middle field had been built over for nearly half a century, and the other field was converted into Finsbury Square between 1777 and 1791. Under an Act of 1812 (52 Geo. III, c. 210) Bethlem Hospital, already half in ruins, was removed to its present home in St. George's Fields, and Finsbury Circus replaced the Quarters. On Horwood's map of 1790 the Quarters are represented by an empty space, devoid of any sign of walks or trees; and with the building of the London Institution and Finsbury Circus on this empty space the last of Moorfields disappeared.

In 1915 most of the northern half of the Circus still remained as it had been originally designed, an oval of plain brick houses without ornament save in their doors and the ironwork of their railings and balustrades, dominated by the classic portico of the London Institution. Here, as elsewhere in London, the archaeologist is impaled upon the dilemma of a sentimental regret at the vanishing of older houses of a quiet and simple type, and a no less keen desire to learn what lies underneath them. It was the excavation consequent upon the rebuilding of these houses and others of the same date adjoining them at the rear in Eldon Street and Finsbury Pavement, that led to the present investigation; and it now remains to be seen how far these excavations have confirmed or amplified the knowledge gained from the maps and records. The history of the site, as is plain from the summary just concluded, gave an excellent promise of enlightening discoveries, for these being the first permanent buildings ever erected here, it was very improbable that any of the usual underground complications would be met; and as the houses had small gardens behind them, clear and complete sections might be expected from the present level down to the original gravel.

Fig. 18 shows such a section a few yards east of the London Institution, and is typical, on the whole, of this part of our area where it is undisturbed by modern foundations. The site, nos. 12 to 26 Finsbury Circus and part of Eldon Street, was not entirely cleared, but large pier-holes were sunk into and through the gravel at frequent intervals, and fig. 18 is the side of one of these pier-holes. The strata and their contents, which were found in all such clean sections over the whole site, occurred in the following order, starting from the bottom.

1. *Gravel.* The surface of the gravel was undulating, but its average depth at the west end of the site was between 10 and 11 ft., and at the east end, where the bed of the Walbrook was approached, about 15 ft. In the photograph it is 11 ft. down. Just under the surface were found a neolithic flint axe-head and a deer-horn axe or hoe, both much rolled, and on the same level, at a point marked on the map with a cross, beside a stream of which traces were found across the north of the site, was the cremated Roman burial (fig. 19). The comparatively narrow proportions of this vessel (height 8 in., greatest diameter

6 in.), its small base ($2\frac{1}{4}$ in.), and its heavily overhanging rim prove it to be a rather late specimen of its kind, and to belong probably to the end of the second or third century.[1] It has, therefore, some interest as one of the latest in date of cremated Roman burials. In the bed of the stream, along its south side, were the remains of a wooden gutter, the section of which is seen in fig. 27. On the surface of the gravel, a few yards south of the burial, were found the broken

Fig. 18. Section, nos. 12–26 Finsbury Circus.
1, gravel; 2, marsh; 3, dry filling; 4, brick filling; 5, modern filling.

fragments of the Castor pot, included in fig. 19, which appears from its proportions to belong likewise to the third century. A few other Roman objects were found at the same level, notably two bronze armlets (one of them a late type with twisted ends, which has been found in Saxon graves[2]), a bronze coin of Antoninus Pius, and several fragments of a large 'Samian' dish (form 80) of Pan Rock type. Two results are clear from this stratum: the gravel was the

[1] See T. May, *The Pottery found at Silchester*, 303.
[2] See B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xvi, 14 and 15.

Roman level, and none of the objects found on that level dates earlier than A.D. 150.

2. *Marsh*, consisting of 4 ft. (or more, where the gravel was lower) of solid black mud, with streaks of peat. In this were embedded many fragments of green-glazed pottery, and a few fragments of bellarmines (which may have come from a higher level) and Siegburg jugs; a few pieces of well-preserved pointed shoes, and more with the rounded toes of the Tudor period; two spurs of the fifteenth century; many bone 'pin-polishers' and globular-headed bronze pins; some metal tools and domestic objects, among them a mutilated pewter spoon with maidenhead knop, and an iron table-fork of early type; some bronze French jettons of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and innumerable animal

Fig. 19. Roman cremated burial and Castor pot ($\frac{1}{4}$).

bones and shell-fish, especially oysters, mussels, and scallop-shells. So far as they were datable, the contents of this stratum ranged from the end of the fourteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century.

3. *Dry filling*, varying in thickness from 1 to 3 ft., according to the depth of the strata under it. This contained some animal bones and shells, a sprinkling of mortar and broken bricks, but nothing more closely datable than fragments of buff or red pottery with transparent yellowish glaze, which might belong to any time in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. In the thicker parts it was often clearly, but very irregularly, stratified.

4. *Brick filling*, consisting of two streaks of broken red bricks and tiles and yellow mortar (much more conspicuous to the eye than in a photograph), each about a foot thick, with about a foot of dry earth between them. Very rarely one of these streaks dwindled to a point and disappeared for a few feet, or the

two amalgamated into one thicker stratum. In the dry earth between them were many clay pipes, dating apparently from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and in one place some fragments of a Delft plate of the same period. Of the actual bricks of which this double layer was composed, the very few whole examples measured 9 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., and were of a bright and evenly baked red colour.

5. *Modern filling*, 2 or 3 ft. thick, with the floors of the houses recently demolished, or the concrete of their yards, or the bare earth of their gardens, above it.

Before the sections under 4–6 Finsbury Circus, and 34–40 Finsbury Pavement, and the far more abundant remains found there, are described, grateful acknowledgement must be paid to Sir Howell J. Williams, who was then owner of the sites. He not only encouraged the author to visit and inspect the sites at will, but gave him permission to buy from the men, on behalf of the Guildhall Museum, any objects which they found and were ready to part with—a privilege which was obviously invaluable for purposes of dating both the strata and the finds. London archaeology in general and the Corporation museum in particular are indebted to him.

The sections in this north-western quarter of the Circus display some differences from those just described, for two additional strata appear between the gravel and the marsh. As in the previous catalogue they are numbered from the bottom upwards.

1. *Gravel*, undulating as before, varying from 14 to 18 ft. below the surface, deepest in the north-west corner.

1 *a*. *Clay*, grey or brownish-grey, apparently the silt of a stream, containing many pebbles, and varying in thickness from a few inches, mixed with the top of the gravel, to 3 ft. 6 in. No objects were found in this clay, or at its base on the gravel surface.

1 *b*. *Reeds*. A clearly defined bed, a foot thick, of reeds in dark grey clay.[1] Among these reeds and at their base occurred a few Roman objects, scattered at different points about the site. One of these, a white jug ($3\frac{3}{8}$ in. high) with traces of two red bands round it, perhaps of the fourth century, is shown in fig. 20.[2] On the same horizon, and a few yards from the jug, were a coin of Licinius (A.D. 307–24) and another of Constantine. The 'Samian' pottery was confined to two fragments of a bowl, form 37, with Antonine decoration; two

[1] Mr. A. S. Kennard, F.G.S., and Mrs. E. M. Read, F.L.S., have kindly examined the molluscan and botanical contents of this layer, and their reports are printed in Appendix II.

[2] It is difficult to find a Roman parallel either to the fairly hard white paste of this jug or to its shape. But see T. May, *The Pottery found at Silchester*, 124–5. It was undoubtedly found in the apparently undisturbed bed of rushes.

fragments of a cup, form 33, with convex sides of late type; a fragment of a bowl, form 44, stamped ƎELIX·F; and a rim of a bowl, form 38. The only distinctive fragments of coarse ware were a mortarium-rim of the second or third century (*Wroxeter Excavation Report*, 1912, p. 77, no. 106), the ringed neck of a flagon of the same date, and the frilled base of an 'incense-burner'. All these Roman objects were found on the south and east sides of the area. Two things are again clear—that the reeds formed the Roman surface, and that the Romans did not begin to drop their rubbish among them before the latter part of the second century.

2. *Marsh*, about 4 ft. thick. The finds were of the same class as in the corresponding stratum of the eastern site, but much more abundant, and perhaps of rather earlier date. The pottery, for instance, was confined to green-glazed fragments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and fragments of Siegburg stoneware jugs, with globular bodies and funnel-shaped or straight necks. A number of spurs was found, but without exception in bad condition. The best preserved of them, in all cases where restoration was possible, have been drawn in fig. 21. It will be seen that these are all fifteenth-century types.[1] Of the domestic objects found, the great majority had been broken or worn out before they were thrown into the marsh, but a proportion of undamaged specimens slipped in by accident, and some of these are included in fig. 22. There are, for instance, a latten spoon probably of foreign manufacture and fourteenth-century date; an early pewter spoon with 'acorn' knop;[2] and two typical knives, with the 'kick' at the bottom of the handle, which may be seen in such examples as the smaller pieces of the set belonging to John of Burgundy (*d.* 1419) in the British Museum.[3] This 'kick' is naturally much more pronounced in bone than wooden handles. French jettons were again frequent, some bearing the *fleurs-de-lis* of France-ancient, but the majority the three *fleurs-de-lis* of France-modern.

Fig. 20. Roman Jug (⅔).

The most striking feature, however, of the finds in this stratum of the present site was the abundance of leather, both waste and manufactured. The waste, in pieces varying from the size of a bootlace up to 2 square feet, and so well

[1] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xiii, 187–202.
[2] F. G. Hilton Price, *Old Base Metal Spoons*, 20–1.
[3] *Brit. Mus. Guide to Mediaeval Room*, 181.

preserved in the wet earth that some of the workmen took fragments home and mended their boots with them, was scattered over most of the site; but in the

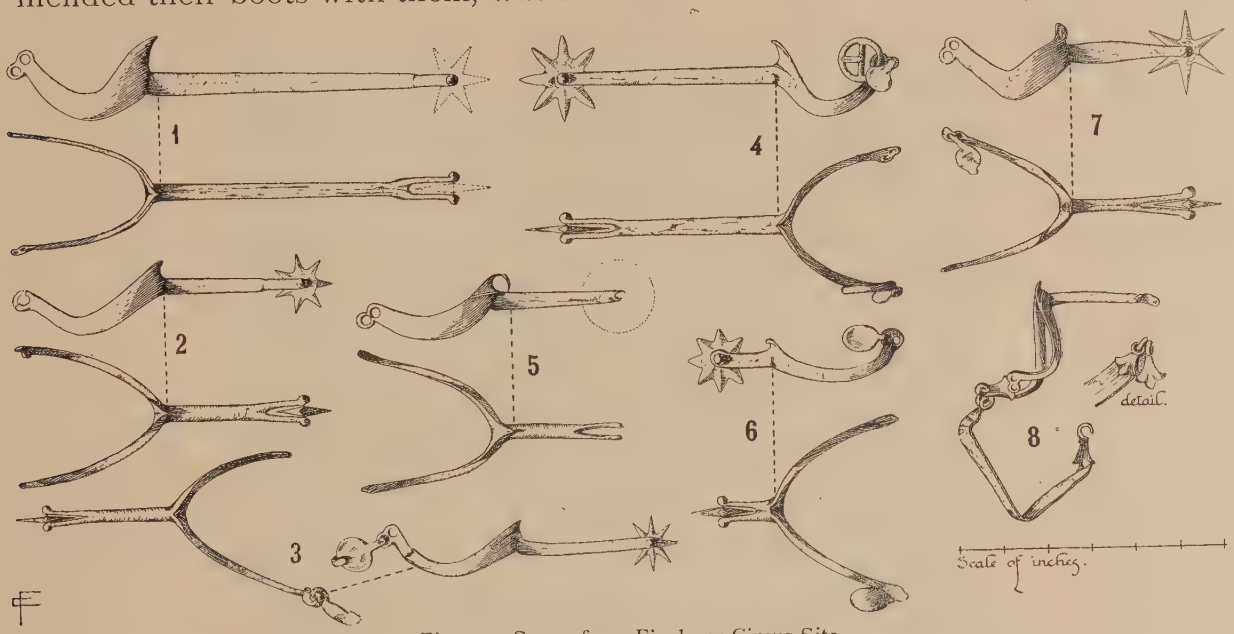


Fig. 21. Spurs from Finsbury Circus Site.

Fig. 22. Objects found in the Marsh, Finsbury Circus (⅜).
1, Latten spoon; 2–3, Pewter spoons; 4, Shears; 5–6, Knives; 7, Scissors; 8, Weaving-comb; 9, Compasses; 10, Key; 11, Signaculum; 12, Latten strap ornament; 13, Bone writing-tablet; 14, Tool, combining file and bodkin.

north-east corner, where the backs of the houses of Finsbury Circus adjoin those of Finsbury Pavement, this waste leather was concentrated in a heap, nearly 2 ft.

thick at its deepest, and covering more than 10 square yards. A section of part of this heap, apparently the refuse of medieval cordwainers or some other

Fig. 23. Lower Strata, 4–6 Finsbury Circus.
1, gravel; 1a, clay with pebbles; 1b, reeds; 2, marsh with heap of waste leather; 3, dry filling.

branch of leatherworkers, is shown in fig. 23. It should be remembered that the curriers were hard by, for Carpenters' Hall stood 'amongest many proper houses possessed for the most part by Curriers',[1] and it is recorded that the

[1] Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 176.

manner of disposal of their refuse brought them into conflict with the Court of Aldermen:

> 6 June 1532. This day came the Warden of the Curriers and injunction was given to thym in the name of all their company that they should forthwith cause all such fylth ordure and other vyle things by thym caste and layde in the moredyche to the grete annoyance and perill of the kings liege peple [sc. to be removed] and also they have streightly in commandment that they nor noon of them from henceforth lay no more there and also the comen hunt ffermour of ffynesbury hath in commandment dayly to oversee that no more such fylth be layed there.[1] (Rep. 8, fo. 230 b.)

Though curriers are not cordwainers, and moorditch is not Moorfields, yet this incident has a double significance. It confirms the obvious suggestion that leather-workers had been discarding their rubbish in this neighbourhood, and taken in conjunction with the scouring of the moor in 1527, it marks the end of the deposits in the marsh, for very few, if any, of the finds in this stratum are of later date than 1532. We are, however, anticipating the summary of conclusions which must follow the statement of the evidence.

By no means all the leather occurred in the form of scraps. Manufactured objects—boots, leather pattens, wooden pattens with leather thongs (see fig. 24), belts, and an occasional black-jack, the material in equally good preservation as the waste, though the objects themselves were, for the most part, badly worn and crushed and twisted—were found freely. Fig. 24 includes two examples, one an adult's, the other a child's, of the usual type of boot. The upper is made in one piece, sewn together at the side, with a triangle let in beside the V-shaped opening, which is closed by means of a strap and circular pewter buckle, or sometimes two straps and buckles. In the largest sizes the upper is often in two pieces, the extra seam being down the back of the heel. Internally, the back of the heel is reinforced by a thin, triangular piece of leather, and a tongue of thin leather is sometimes found stitched to the undersides of the opening. The single flat sole, with pointed toe, is joined to the upper by means of a welt. It should be noted that the square toe, or the toe of exaggerated rotundity, such as became common under Henry VIII, was completely absent on this site. These boots are very lightly made, and must have been far from waterproof—hence, of course, the frequent use of pattens. In their original condition none of the stitching was visible from the outside; where two pieces of leather met, or the two ends of the same piece, they were invariably stitched together by the inside edge. The majority of the boots were badly worn round the heel,

[1] The Common Hunt at this date, whose name was John Burton, had just taken Cripplegate as his dwelling-place (Rep. 7, fo. 126 b). Living there, and having his official head-quarters at the dog-house, he was well placed for the oversight of Moorfields.

and were obviously discarded for that reason. Looking at these specimens, it is easy to see why the medieval Englishman complained so often of 'kibes', and to understand the advantages of the raised heel of a century later.

This type of boot can be placed with much probability in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, because of its association with a feature which appears in fig. 25. This photograph shows the lowest part of our section, and in the middle of the morass, with a stake driven through it, is clearly seen a white

Fig. 24. Boots and pattens from medieval stratum, 4-6 Finsbury Circus.

streak of partly burnt chalk, containing small fragments of charred wood. Similar patches of chalk, all more or less burnt, came to light in no less than eight places on this excavation (six of them adjoining Finsbury Pavement), and near two of them the grey clay had been cut away down to the gravel, and its room filled with the black mud. Both these facts can be explained by reference to Stow, who tells us:

> In the 17 of Edward the 4. *Ralfe Ioseline* Maior, caused part of the wall about the citie of London to bee repayred, to wit, between Aldgate, and *Aldersgate*. He also caused the Moorefield to bee searched for clay, and Bricke thereof to be made

and burnt: he likewise caused chalk to be brought out of Kent, and to be burnt into lime in the same Moorefield, for more furtherance of the worke.[1]

Fig. 25. Lower Strata, 4-6 Finsbury Circus.
1, gravel; 1 a, clay with pebbles; 1 b, reeds; 2, marsh, with patch of chalk; 3, dry filling irregularly stratified.

It is impossible to dissociate this double phenomenon, occurring as it does in a fifteenth-century stratum, from Stow's statement and the year 1477. Its

[1] Stow (ed. Kingsford), i, 10.

connexion with the boots lies in the fact that several of the type were found immediately above and alongside one of the chalk patches. This is, in fact, the only case where stratification within the marshy deposit proved useful, for else-

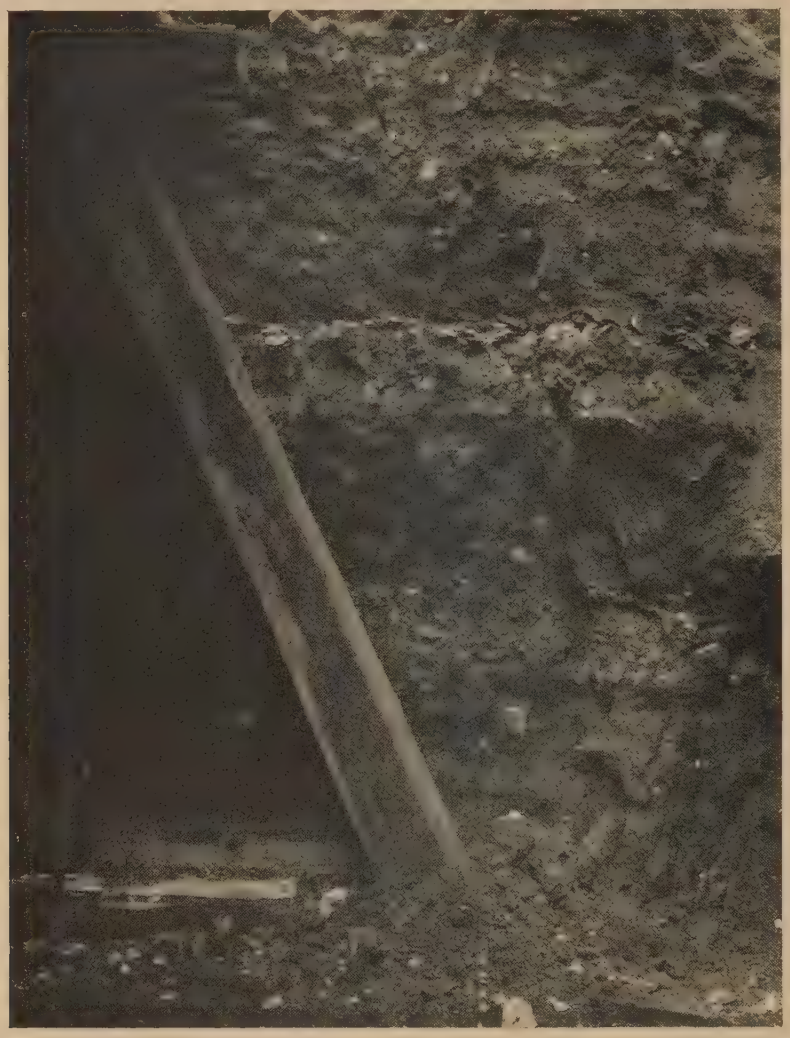


Fig. 26. Upper Strata, 4–6 Finsbury Circus.
3, dry filling; 4, brick filling; 5, modern filling.

where the objects had sunk to different depths, according to their size and weight and the varying density of the swamp.

3. *Dry filling*, about 4 ft. thick, as empty of data as before. The only object of interest, undoubtedly belonging to this stratum, that came to the author's notice, was a fragmentary green-glazed candlestick, probably Elizabethan. Part of this filling is shown in figs. 25 and 26. It was again unevenly stratified.

4. *Brick filling*, consisting of two lines of bricks and tiles and mortar, with earth between them, as before. It was difficult to tell the horizon of any objects found in the three upper strata. Contractors' methods are of necessity very different from the more leisurely ways of the archaeologist, and perhaps an explanation of the working of this site will make the difficulty clear. After a hole had been sunk from the surface to the gravel, the grey clay, being much more solid than the black layer above it, was used as a step from which to cut the face of a section back (see fig. 25). The section was first undercut by the removal of some depth of the soft black layer, leaving the upper strata overhanging. These were then brought down by leverage from above, falling in a confused mass on the clay step, whence they were shovelled into the 'skip' on the floor of the pit. Finally the clay step was dug away. Thus, while it was very easy to watch the lowest two strata, it was almost impossible to disentangle the contents of the upper three. The absence of evidence, however, in the dry filling, and its scarcity in the brick filling, was sufficiently proved by close observation of the face of the sections, and by the statements of the workmen, who never anticipated finds while engaged with material higher than the 'black muck'. Personal investigation with a walking-stick in the earth between the lines of brick and mortar produced a number of broken clay pipes, of early eighteenth-century type; several fragments of Delft; two fragments of early salt glaze; a local farthing token about 1660 of the Half Moon in Bedlam; and two coins of George I. The spoil was scanty, but it pointed to the beginning of the eighteenth century as the date of the deposit. The filling is shown in fig. 26, where a thick deposit of oyster-shells should be noticed above the upper band of bricks.

5. *Modern filling*, as before.

The houses numbered 34, 36, 38, and 40 Finsbury Pavement[1] were demolished and their site excavated several months later than those adjoining them in Finsbury Circus. Before the demolition of the last two, the whole site became the property of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, for the erection of Britannic House. At Sir Howell Williams's suggestion, the new proprietors were good enough to allow me to visit the site on exactly the same conditions as before, and I am greatly indebted to them for the continuance of this privilege. The conditions under these houses were practically the same as on the rest of the site, with the following differences. (1) The section down to the gravel was deeper, the gravel at its lowest being 19 ft. below the pavement. The marsh, and especially the dry filling, were each rather thicker than elsewhere. (2) No Roman objects were found at all. (3) No clear trace was found

[1] Now re-named Moorgate and re-numbered.

of the western branch of the Walbrook, which might have run north and south through the site. A shallow and not very well marked depression in the gravel, some 7 ft. wide, crossing the south-west corner of the site, and having few reeds over it, may have been part of the stream. This is marked in black on fig. 14. (4) The circular patches of burnt chalk (see above, p. 102 and fig. 25), varying in diameter from 4 to 10 ft., were common. Six were clearly seen, and traces of others. (5) As before, very little was found in the dry filling and the brick filling, but in proportion to the area of the site the objects preserved in the marsh were much more numerous. They fell into the same classes and belonged to the same period as those already described. Some of the domestic objects are illustrated in fig. 22, and two of these may be noted. The bone writing-tablet has the letters *R Bre*, in a fourteenth-century hand, very faintly incised on the other side; and the two swords about the head of St. Thomas, on his *signaculum*, may be paralleled by a fourteenth-century seal of the Commissary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which is in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries.

Such is the evidence produced by these several excavations, and summarized in the two diagrams in fig. 27. It remains, with the diagrams and the plan before us, to draw brief conclusions.

In using this summary of the sections, it should be borne in mind that between them stand River Plate House and the London Institution. In the area occupied by these two buildings, the lowest stratum—the gravel—slopes down to the valley of the western Walbrook, and in that valley it is capped by a silt which resulted from periodical floods of the Walbrook in pre-Roman times, and which raised the Roman surface almost to the height of the gravel in the eastern part of our area. The first and most striking fact about the earliest strata is the complete absence of Roman objects in the black deposit, or of piles driven through it into the gravel or clay. Earlier excavation has shown that the eastern branch of the Walbrook was lined with pile-dwellings, and its mud contained much first-century 'Samian', but between the two streams was apparently dry and uninhabited ground. In the absence of any evidence of dwellings, the Roman finds in the recent excavations, which in no case dated earlier than about A.D. 150, and which became gradually fewer as one travelled westward, can only represent (except the burial) the casual losses of the later inhabitants of the pile-dwellings as they wandered over the low gravel watershed to the edge of the swampy and reeded little valley to their west.

This burial, as well as the previous find associated with a coin of Salonina (p. 78 above), prove that there was certainly no swamp about or between the two streams in the middle of the third century. Neither of them, however, can

safely be used as evidence for the dating of the Wall, except on the unproved and improbable assumption that the beginning of the marsh followed immediately upon the erection of the Wall. Provided only that there was a clear passage for the streams through the culverts, the Wall might have been built in the middle of the first century, and still the ground outside it would have been dry enough to permit a burial much later than the middle of the third. The constructive details of the defence (such as the considerable thickness of its mortar-joints), and the irregular outline and great area of Londinium, con-

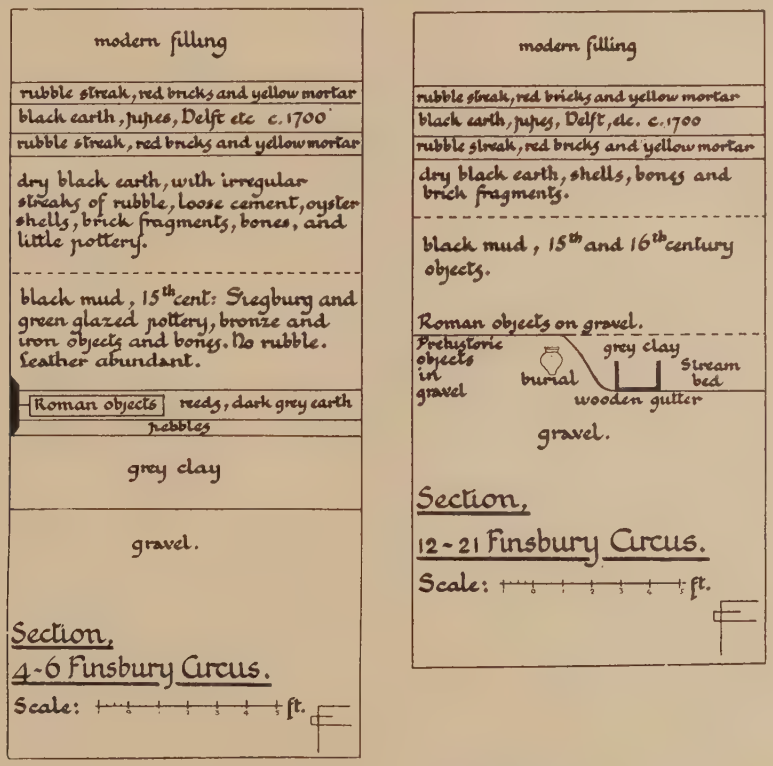

modern filling
rubble streak, red bricks and yellow mortar
black earth, pipes, Delft etc c. 1700
rubble streak, red bricks and yellow mortar
dry black earth, with irregular streaks of rubble, loose cement, oyster shells, brick fragments, bones, and little pottery.
black mud, 15th cent: Siegburg and green glazed pottery, bronze and iron objects and bones. No rubble. Feather abundant.
Roman objects
reeds, dark grey earth
pebbles
grey clay
gravel.
Section,
4-6 Finsbury Circus.
Scale:
ft.
modern filling
rubble streak, red bricks and yellow mortar
black earth, pipes, Delft, etc. c. 1700
rubble streak, red bricks and yellow mortar
dry black earth, shells, bones and brick fragments.
black mud, 15th and 16th century objects.
Roman objects on gravel.
Prehistoric objects in gravel
burial
grey clay
stream bed
wooden gutter
gravel.
Section,
12-21 Finsbury Circus.
Scale:
ft.

Fig. 27. Finsbury Circus Site: Sections.

trasted with the narrow distribution of first-century finds within it, point clearly enough to a late date for the circumvallation of the city, without the doubtful evidence of these burials.

It has been disappointing not to find any clear trace of the bed of the western stream. We must suppose, either that it has not been touched, and lay under the present roadway of Finsbury Pavement, or, more probably, that it meandered among the clay and reeds, and underwent considerable changes of direction during four hundred years. In that case the indication in the plan, fig. 14, represents not its course, but approximately its valley.

The reeds that lie above the clay form the most interesting and consistent stratum of the area between Finsbury Circus and Finsbury Pavement. Only among them were Roman finds made. The preservation of this band of reeds is significant, for it can only have been secured by their comparatively rapid burial under the black swamp above; and this can only have been brought about by the building of the Wall, the neglect, perhaps after the departure of the Romans, of the culverts by which the Walbrook passed the Wall, and the consequent blocking of the stream. The possibility that the Romans themselves, towards the end of their occupation, deliberately swamped this northern ground for defensive purposes, though unsupported by any evidence, is not entirely to be rejected.

The black deposit, as we have seen, contained nothing undoubtedly earlier than 1350, and nothing undoubtedly later than the early sixteenth century. The bulk of its contents came within the fifteenth century, and objects belonging perhaps to the middle of that century were found immediately on the top of the reeds, though this may not have been due to their original deposit at that level, but to their sinking, or to the subsequent disturbance of the marsh. Nevertheless, the transition from the Roman period to the fifteenth century is sudden, and at the first glance surprising. It means that during the greater part of the middle ages the condition of Moorfields was so bad—it was, in fact, practically a lake—that (except, as Fitzstephen tells us, during hard winters) it was almost inaccessible. But the drainage of 1411, and the building of Moorgate in 1415, altered the conditions immediately. The old postern had been a narrow footway through the wall, not even closed by a door; the new gate allowed free access for vehicles; and the quantity and dating of the finds in the black layer, their occurrence in fairly well defined patches, and the broken and worn and waste condition of most of them, show that Moorfields, during the whole of the fifteenth century, became the great dumping-ground for the rubbish of northern London. The difference between the distribution of the Roman and the medieval finds should be noticed. Roman objects are most frequent on the eastern side of Finsbury Circus, and disappear completely before Finsbury Pavement is reached; the Romans, that is, approached the area from their houses along the main stream of the Walbrook. The medieval Londoners, on the other hand, dropped their rubbish in much greater abundance in the proximity of Finsbury Pavement, for they approached Moorfields from the highway that led north from Moorgate. The absence of later objects shows that the use of Moorfields as a dumping-ground ceased with the drainage schemes of 1511 and 1527, and that during the sixteenth century the place was kept tolerably clean. In this connexion the records of 1532 and 1593, quoted on pp. 101 and 81 above, are significant.

The dry filling produced no data which would certainly determine its age. But the very scarcity of such data and the irregularly stratified appearance of the deposit, as though the earth had been tipped or shovelled on, goes to show that it was a deliberate heightening of the ground. At this place in our series, the only date to which such a deposit can be assigned is 1606–7, when the laying out of Moorfields as a park began, and the Quarters were finished.

The brick filling is easier to date. The two layers of loose and fragmentary bricks and mortar are identical and must be contemporaneous; and objects found in the earth between them, few though they are, show that both the layers belong to the raising and repairs started in 1730. The total thickness of the stratum agrees with Maitland's assertion that the surface was raised 3 ft., but the 'street rubbish' with which the heightening was carried out is seen to have consisted, to the extent of about two-thirds, of loose building material, which was doubtless used to facilitate surface drainage. This plan failed, as all earlier plans for the redemption of the lower part of Moorfields had failed. Success was not achieved until, in the nineteenth century, the Quarters were handed over to the builder. Now, in the twentieth, the deep foundations of the structures that surround Finsbury Circus, and the Underground Railway that passes through it, have removed or drained most of the marsh that gave so many centuries of trouble. Happily the Circus remains, an open space and a lasting monument to the meeting-place of the Walbrook and the Wall.

Any investigation covering so wide a field as the present owes much to the help and collaboration of friends, to whom thanks must be rendered. Among colleagues and seniors at the Guildhall, I am indebted to my chief, Mr. Bernard Kettle, the Librarian and Curator, and to his staff, for assistance with maps and literature; to Mr. Sidney Perks, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., City Surveyor, for information about Corporation and other property; to Mr. A. H. Thomas, M.A., Records Clerk, for much help with the records; to Mr. J. G. Coldwell, for notification of digging in connexion with sewers; and to Mr. T. G. Hancock, in connexion with the City Land Committee's Journals. My indebtedness to Sir Howell Williams, and, through his agency, to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, has already been acknowledged. Without them the greater part of this paper would not have been written, for the research into the history of Moorfields began with excavations on their property. Among builders and architects Mr. Roland Smith, of the Guardian Assurance Company, and Mr. Campbell Jones, F.R.I.B.A., who gave ready permission to inspect sites, not City property, in King William Street, must be gratefully mentioned. I must also thank Mr. Reginald Smith, F.S.A., for some useful references, and Mr. F. C. Elliston Erwood for his skill in interpreting my measurements and rough notes,

and producing from them the plans and sections which illustrate this paper. The Clerks of Works and General Foremen who have helped are too many to name, though space must be found for Mr. G. A. Lockyer and Mr. J. Underwood, in connexion with Moorfields. We have indeed travelled far since the day when Roach Smith found 'the superintendants of works unhappily disposed to raise every impediment in their power against investigation'. The only regret is that so small an area of London still remains to investigate.

APPENDIX I

NOTE ON SKULL FOUND NEAR FOUNDATION OF THE LONDON WALL, BY SIR ARTHUR KEITH, F.R.S.

The skull discovered under the circumstances just described by Mr. Frank Lambert is unmistakably of the form and size which marks the round-headed central European people, from Bavaria in the north to the Pyrenees in the south. We may safely presume that it belonged to a soldier recruited on the Continent, but whether he was a native south or north of the Rhine it is impossible to say; his cranial type is certainly found in the majority of the present inhabitants of France south of the Seine. Its maximum length is 188 mm., its maximum width 152 mm., its cephalic index 80·4, round-headed. For its size it is really a capacious skull; its height is low, the basi-bregmatic height being 133 mm., its auricular height 116 mm. As is usual in such skulls the palate is massive, strong, and widely developed, and although the man of whom it formed part was over thirty years of age, probably between thirty to forty years, there are no wisdom teeth; these have never been formed. The face is also massive, the naso-alveolar length being 79 mm. and its zygomatic width 145 mm., both measurements being at the upper range of facial dimensions. There is a fracture passing across the base of the skull, certainly caused at or just after death by the body being pitched from a height and falling on its head. I cannot conceive any force, except a headlong one, which would produce this type of injury. Two holes in the roof of the skull have been caused recently by the pick of a workman. The horse's bones are those of a clean-limbed beast of the Arab type standing about 16 hands high.

Mr. Lambert has in his collection at the Guildhall twelve other skulls found under circumstances which assign them to the period when London was in Roman occupation. Of these twelve only one is of the same type as the one just described; it was found in 1905 at the base of the London Wall. It is even more typical of the round-headed European than the one described here, its length being 180 mm., its width 155 mm., its index being 86·1, extremely rounded. All of the other London skulls are of the type we meet with in British graves of the Roman period. Five of these twelve skulls I regard as belonging to women. I propose to describe the skulls in the Guildhall collection at some length in a paper to the Royal Anthropological Institute, and therefore forbear to give further details now.

APPENDIX II

ANALYSIS OF A SAMPLE FROM THE REED-BED UNDER NOS. 4 TO 6 FINSBURY CIRCUS

(*a*) *Notes on the Non-Marine Mollusca*, by A. S. KENNARD, F.G.S., and B. B. WOODWARD, F.L.S.

Mr. F. Lambert, F.S.A., kindly sent a large sample of material from the Roman layer which clearly represented a marsh deposit. Twelve species of mollusca were represented, viz.:

Succinea pfeifferi Rossm. 3 examples.
Carychium minimum Müll. 3 examples.
Phytia myosotis (Drap.). 1 example.
Limnaea peregra (Müll.). Common.
,, *palustris* (Müll.). Common.
Planorbis laevis Ald. Common.
,, *crista* (Linn.). Common.
,, *umbilicatus* (Müll.). 8 examples.
,, *vortex* (Linn.). 2 examples.
Segmentina nitida (Müll.). 1 example.
Aplecta hypnorum (Linn.). 3 examples.
Bithynia tentaculata (Müll.). 3 examples.

Remains of Ostracods and insects also occurred. Two species, *Segmentina nitida* and *Phytia myosotis*, were absent from the series obtained from a neighbouring site and described by us in 1902 (*Proc. Malac. Soc. Lond.*, vol. v, pp. 180–1), but the latter species is a brackish water form, and its presence is due either to birds or human agency. The facies of the mollusca would appear to indicate not a permanent swamp, but rather swampy ground liable to desiccation. The comparative abundance of *Planorbis laevis* is noteworthy, since at the present time this is quite a rare species.

Part of the material was forwarded to Mrs. Eleanor M. Reid, F.L.S., and after careful washing, a very laborious task, she has kindly furnished the following report on the plants.

(*b*) *Report on the Plant Remains*, by Mrs. ELEANOR M. REID, F.L.S.

The following plants were detected in the material:

Ranunculus (*Botrichium*) sp. Several achenes.
,, *sceleratus* Linn. 4 or 5 achenes.
,, *repens* Linn. Fairly abundant.
Silene maritima With. 1 seed.
Stellaria media Vill. 1 seed.
Malachium aquaticum Fries. 2 seeds.
Rubus fruticosus Linn. 2 seeds.
Myriophyllum spicatum Linn. 1 seed.
Apium nodiflorum Reich. fils. 6 or 7 mericarps.
Oenanthe (*crocata* Linn. ?). 4 mericarps much broken.
Torilis anthriscus Hud. 1 badly preserved.
Conium maculatum Linn.
Sambucus nigra Linn. 5 seeds.
Carduus nutans Linn. 2 fruits.
Lapsana communis Linn. 2 fruits.
Helminthia echioides Gaert. 1 fruit.

Sonchus arvensis Linn.
„ *asper* Hill.
Chenopodium botryoides Smith. Several seeds.
Atriplex littoralis Linn. Several.
Rumex maritimus Linn. Abundant.
Polygonum mite Schrank.
„ *convolvulus* Linn. ?
Ceratophyllum submersum Linn. Several nuts.
Urtica urens Linn. 5 or 6 seeds.
Zannichellia palustris Linn. 3 seeds.
Eleocharis palustris Brown. 1 nut.
Scirpus tabernaemontani Gmel. 2 nuts.
Carex sp. 2 nuts.
Equisetum (*maximum* Lam. ?). Stems very abundant.
Ficus carica Linn. fig. 1 seed.

The assemblage denotes a marsh. The only outstanding species is *Ficus carica*, the fig. This is represented by a single seed, small, but without doubt belonging to the species. It has occurred before in Roman deposits, having been frequently recorded from Silchester.

IV.—*Hoards of Neolithic Celts.* *By* Reginald A. Smith, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 26th May 1921.

More than anywhere else in Europe the Neolithic Period has been studied in Scandinavia, where finds are exceptionally rich, and circumstances have made a sequence possible. Isolated attempts have been made to formulate an evolution series in France (Déchelette, *Manuel*, i, 514–16; *L'Homme préhistorique*, 1907, p. 71) and Germany (*Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, vi (1914), p. 29), but the material is not so abundant, and association of types in hoards or burials not frequent enough to complete the undertaking. Our Fellow Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong has described some associated finds of Irish neolithic celts in *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, xxxiv, c, no. 6, but attention in England has been rather distracted by the abundance of Drift implements, and there has been a tendency to class all surface finds as neolithic, internal evidence alone being deemed insufficient to justify a chronological arrangement. Groups of contemporary specimens buried as hoards or deposited with the dead in any kind of grave have been provokingly rare; and an offer made by Mr. Algernon A. Hankey to exhibit a hoard of celts to the Society and subsequently to present them to the British Museum was therefore accepted with enthusiasm. Opportunity was taken to borrow from Mr. Russell J. Colman, who readily acceded to the request, another hoard of five celts found near Norwich; and since the paper was read, the Earl of Leicester kindly lent the President a group of four, also from Norfolk, for examination and inclusion in the present series, to which the Curator of Norwich Castle Museum has also contributed, through Miss G. V. Barnard, outlines of two other hoards from the same county. There are probably other datable groups in public or private collections, but it would be futile to delay publication of those above mentioned till a thorough search of all the literature and museums in the kingdom had been undertaken. These will at least form the basis of a chronological scheme for neolithic celts, the value of which can be estimated by the ease or difficulty of incorporating other groups that may come to light.

The programme is a modest one, and no originality is claimed for it, as the main lines have for several years been generally accepted in Scandinavia where, with slight modifications suggested from time to time by new discoveries, the system is found to work and therefore to prove its own validity.

A somewhat detailed description of a few specimens will make clear what is meant by the technical terms employed, and fix attention on the points to be noticed in attempting a classification of the various forms of celts in northern Europe. The hoard exhibited by Mr. Russell Colman has been already illustrated by Mr. H. H. Hâlls in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, i, 111, pl. xvi; but essential details are missing from the short account there given. They were found in the exhibitor's garden at Crown Point House, Whitlingham, near Norwich, in January 1907, at a distance of 300 yards from the house. A small trench for a low wall was being dug in what had been a pasture, and all came out in two spadefuls of earth, about 18 inches from the surface. Further search in the adjoining ground was without result, and there can be no doubt that all five were buried together as a hoard. There is a very large chalk-pit in the neighbourhood where the raw material could have been obtained.

They are described in the order of size, certain aspects being reserved for a general survey by way of conclusion (pl. IV):

1. A well-shaped specimen of grey lustrous flint, with pointed oval section, good even cutting-edge and sharp butt unpolished, but traces of polish on the ridges of both faces and in patches on both sides; darker round a patch of crust, and pearly in appearance where polished. L. 9 in.; max. B. 3·4 in.; and 1·5 in. thick.

2. Purplish brown with cherty inclusions, without lustre or polish, but with ridges slightly rubbed; the butt coming rather suddenly to a sharp edge. L. 8 in.; max. B. 3·8 in.; 1·6 in. thick.

3. Grey to black, and lustrous, the faces not polished, the sides rubbed but hardly polished; a good sharp butt. L. 7·85 in.; max. B. 3·1 in.; 1·4 in. thick.

4. Grey to black, as last, the black showing round patches of crust on both faces; faces unpolished, and the sides rubbed but hardly polished; the butt rather blunt and irregular, being zigzag instead of a sharp edge. L. 7·1 in.; max. B. 3·7 in.; 1 in. thick.

5. Grey to black, as before, one patch of crust with black round it. The sides rubbed and finely zigzag (not quite so regular as the rest), the faces not polished; good sharp butt. L. 6·5 in.; max. B. 3 in.; 1·3 in. thick.

The pointed oval cross-section is well exemplified in a hoard of four from Egmere, 4 miles south of Holkham, Norfolk, now at Norwich. The discovery was made in 1866 by a labourer digging a dyke at a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft., two being

placed parallel and across the others (fig. 1). The figures are numbered as before according to length:

1. Grey marbled flint, hardly polished, but the ridges reduced and the side edges rubbed smooth. L. 7·1 in.; max. B. 3·4 in.; 1·6 in. thick.

2. Pearly grey, more polished than last but some flaking visible; the sides straight and smoothed, and the butt rather zigzag. L. 6·9 in.; max. B. 3·3 in.; 1·6 in. thick.

3. Darker grey, polished as last, with sides fairly straight and rubbed, and better butt than last. L. 5·9 in.; max. B. 2·6 in.; 1·4 in. thick.

4. Yellowish grey, with flat striking platform at the butt, not broken; the sides zigzag and irregular. L. 5·7 in.; max. B. 3·3 in.; 1·4 in. thick.

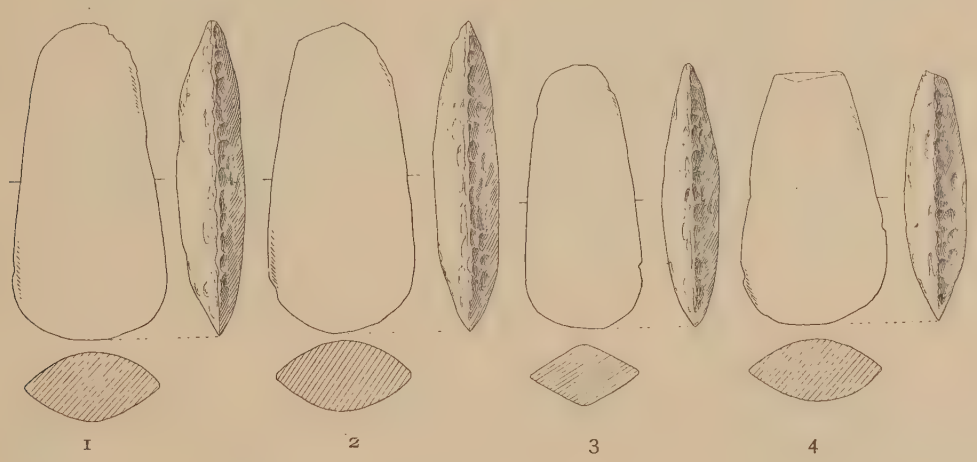


Fig. 1. Group B, flint celts from Egmere, Norfolk (½).

The outlines and side-views are much the same, but the greater proportional width of no. 4 should be remarked, as recalling the Whitlingham type (pl. IV). The cutting-edge is polished in each case, but the butt is only chipped (wanting in no. 4). In no. 3 the sides are slightly squared and the cross-section approaches the lozenge form, in this respect agreeing with a common British variety, well represented from the Thames and contrasting with the Scandinavian oblong which seems to be contemporary.

The discovery of the Holkham hoard has been already recorded by Mr. W. G. Clarke[1] as follows: 'In 1906 workmen, digging in a stone-pit on Mr. Robert Baker's farm at Wells-next-the-Sea, found four flint celts about 3 ft.

[1] In *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, 2nd ser., part 2 (Norwich, 1907), where the Whitlingham and Egmere finds are also recorded (pp. 6-8).

below the surface, close together in loose rubble that resembled a sea-beach, and a few inches above the solid gravel.'

Through the kindness of the Earl of Leicester a personal inspection of these has been made at the British Museum, and the following description gives the principal details (fig. 2):

1. Grey flint celt with cherty inclusions, polished, with some flakes showing. Pointed oval section, unusually thick (humped). The cutting edge merely chipped, but the thin butt is smoothed and polished on the edge; and the sides are slightly polished. L. 9·2 in.; max. B. 3 in.; 2·1 in. thick.

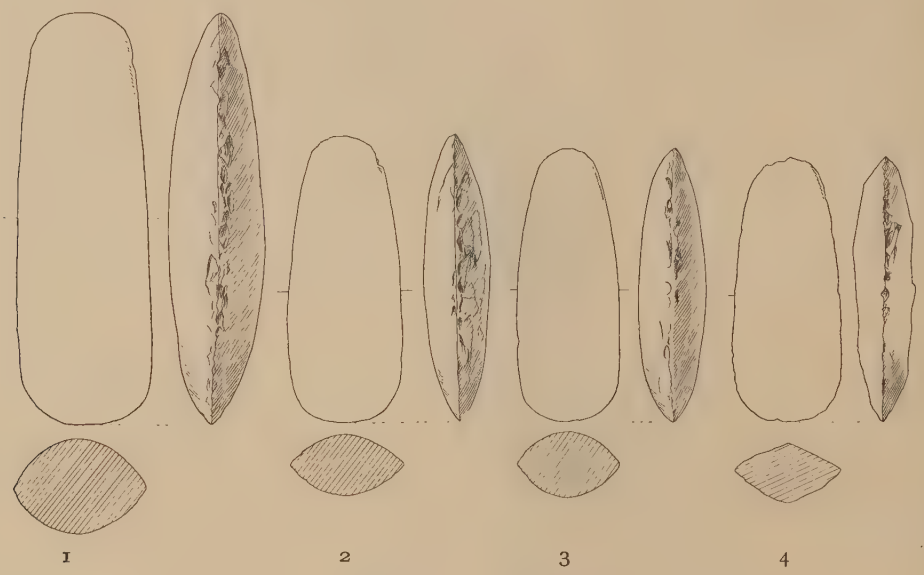


Fig. 2. Group C, flint celts from Holkham, Norfolk (½).

2. Grey celt, slightly marbled, polished, but with many flakes showing; good cutting-edge and fairly sharp and even butt; sides polished and very slightly squared. L. 6·3 in.; max. B. 2·6 in.; 1·4 in. thick.

3. Flint in different shades of grey, polished, with some flakes showing; pointed oval section, and the butt fairly regular and thin. L. 6·1 in.; max. B. 2·3 in.; 1·5 in. thick.

4. Flint with cherty inclusions, yellowish grey, unpolished, rather lozenge section; sharp all round but with rather thick and irregular butt. L. 5·8 in.; max. B. 2·4 in.; 1·3 in. thick.

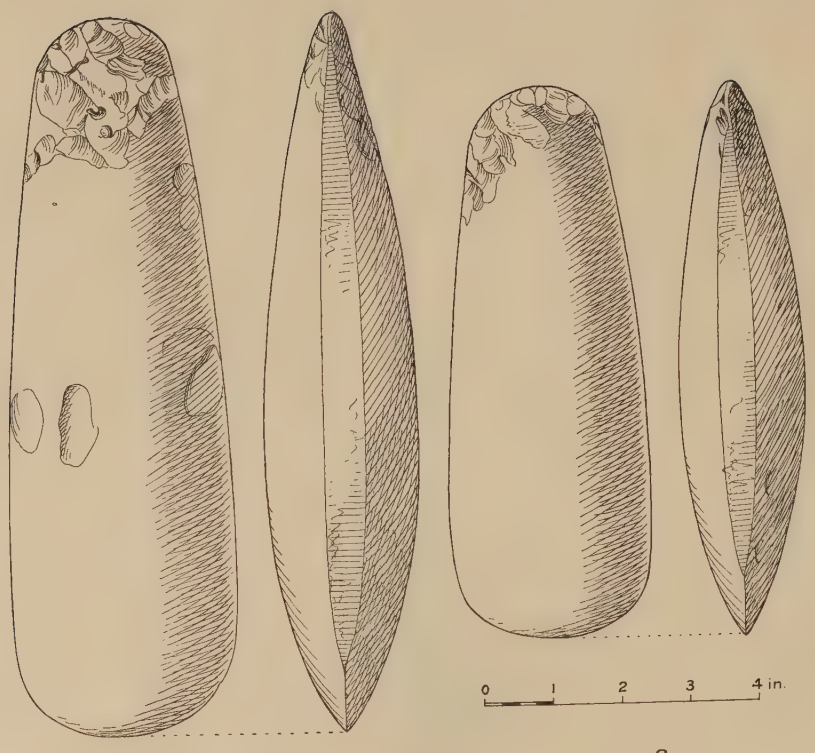
Yet another Norfolk hoard was found two spades deep by a labourer ploughing at Flegg Burgh, near Yarmouth, about 1902. Three fine celts, now in Norwich

3 1

4 5 2

GROUP A, FLINT CELTS FROM WHITLINGHAM, NORWICH

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1922



1 2

3 4 5

GROUP E, FLINT CELTS AND 'CHISELS' FROM BEXLEY HEATH, KENT

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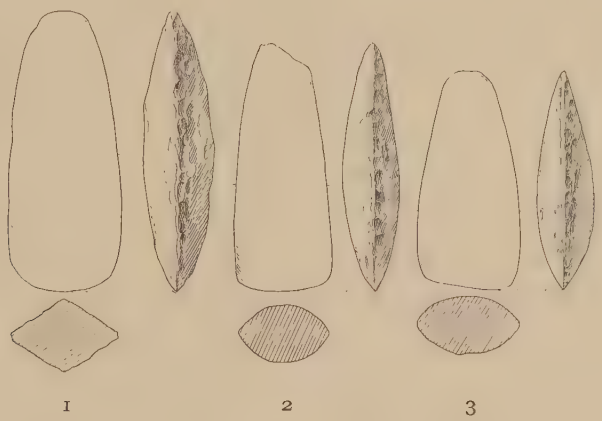
Castle Museum, were uncovered, polished and unpolished being once more found in association (fig. 3).

1. Black and grey flint, chipped and unpolished, with lozenge cross-section, battered zigzag sides, and thin but not sharp butt. L. 6·3 in.; max. B. 2·5 in.; and 1·6 in. thick.

2. Grey and darker towards butt, polished on the cutting-edge and chipped at the butt which is zigzag; oval section with fairly straight sides abraded. L. 5·5 in.; max. B. 2·2 in.; and 1·3 in. thick.

3. Grey and polished all over with a few flakes showing; flattened butt not so square as the sides. L. 5 in.; max. B. 2·35 in.; and 1·3 in. thick.



1 2 3

Fig. 3. Group D, flint celts from Flegg Burgh, Norfolk ($\frac{1}{4}$).

The latest and best hoard of the series consists of five specimens of two kinds, now in the British Museum by the gift of the exhibitor Mr. Algernon A. Hankey, who vouches for the following particulars of the find on his own property. The originals of pl. V were discovered in 1883, when a trench 3 to 4 ft. deep was being dug for a small greenhouse at The Mount, Upton, in the parish of Bexley Heath, Kent; and there can be little doubt that all five were contemporary, and were purposely buried together at that spot in the Neolithic Period, certainly before being used and perhaps before being finished:

1. Grey celt, yellowish to dove-colour, polished all over except near the thin butt which is ground to a dull edge. Cutting-edge in perfect order, and sides ground square. Faces very convex, and thickest below the centre. L. 10·4 in.; max. B. 3·1 in.; 2·1 in. thick.

2. Similar in colour, form and amount of chipping still visible; butt thin, ground to dull edge. L. 8 in.; max. B. 2·9 in.; 1·8 in. thick.

3. Narrow implement known as a chisel, unpolished, beautifully chipped with straight sides and thin butt; various shades of grey mottled. L. 8·3 in.; max. B. 1·9 in.; 0·7 in. thick.

4. Implement of same type, equally fine chipping and similar colouring, unpolished. L. 10·4 in.; max. B. 2 in.; 0·7 in. thick.

5. Implement of same type but polished all over, some flaking still visible, the sides slightly squared; and cutting-edge evidently used; colour rather darker. L. 6·7 in.; max. B. 1·8 in.; 0·6 in. thick.

Three of the five pieces in the Bexley hoard have been polished nearly all over, and the other two are of the same type as one of those so finished. This is consequently a clear case of preparatory chipping, and shows the condition of celts before the surface was smoothed by grinding. It is seldom possible to say whether a chipped celt was intended to remain in that state or to be finished by polishing; the latter process was introduced into Scandinavia in the Shell-mound Period, long before the art of megalithic building, but, even there, was largely abandoned in the Passage-grave and Cist Periods, when the best specimens of pure chipping were produced. In Britain classification has not gone far enough to enable us to state in most cases whether a celt was chipped for subsequent polishing; but it is reasonable to assume that the more carefully chipped specimens were intended to undergo the final process.

In western Scandinavia it is possible to trace the development of the cutting-edge from the oval of the Shell-mound pick to the straight line of the Megalithic Period. To the Passage-grave (Long-barrow) Period belong both the thick-butted celt (not a British type) and the Viervitz type, of the Isle of Rügen in the Baltic. In plan the latter is a long triangle, with pointed butt, and almost straight cutting-edge terminating almost in right angles. The cross-section is pointed oval, the faces being of low convexity. It is above all by its straighter cutting-edge that the megalithic celt is distinguished from its predecessors, but other features enable a further division to be made, and there are special forms of the celt for the Dolmen, Passage-grave, and Cist Periods respectively (Montelius' periods ii–iv of the later Neolithic). The pointed-butt celt, properly so called, belongs to the time before megalithic building was introduced, and was assigned by Prof. Montelius to his first period, which is not represented by any class of burials. This type of celt is narrow but thick, the section being a pointed oval, but approaching an oval or even a circle; it tapers to the butt, the cutting-edge is oval in plan, and the greatest thickness is between the middle and the cutting-edge. This summary will enable us to place the three slender celts of the Bexley hoard; and as they are not quite thin enough for the Viervitz type and the cutting-edge is not quite straight, they would normally fall in the Dolmen

Period, which is characterized by the thin-butted celt, represented in this hoard by two splendid examples. The date is probably nearer 2500 than 3000 B. C.

The dolmens of Scandinavia were more richly furnished than the same type of monument in Britain, and the polished thin-butted celt with squared sides is now recognized as the normal type of the period. It is found in France and more often in England, but nowhere in such quantities as in Sweden and Denmark. Whereas the Scandinavian specimens are generally thin with nearly flat faces, the tendency in Britain is towards highly convex faces. The squared sides, produced by grinding down the sharp edges of a pointed oval section, gradually become broader, till (in Scandinavia) a square section is reached in the succeeding Passage-grave Period, corresponding to our long barrows with chambers.

The peculiar form assumed by the thin butt has been explained as a refinement of the broad-butted celt, itself a variety of the pointed-butt type with pointed oval section.[1] The result was to make the butt-end very like the cutting-edge, but the former is often dulled by polishing, as in the Bexley hoard. It can hardly have been intended as a double-axe, as the hafting was on the butt-side of the middle, and a blow with the narrow end would tend to loosen the binding. However, it should be borne in mind that perforated double-axes were very common at a later stage of the Neolithic Period.

Some of the principal features of the celts above described have been reserved for a summary which is intended to give reasons for placing the hoards in this order, and to save space they will be indicated by the initial letters given below the illustrations. An examination of the side-views will show that A–C are thickest in the middle, whereas the D specimens are mixed in this respect, with a tendency to thicken below the centre (away from the butt), and the same may be said of E. The plan may next be considered. A has straight sides sharply tapering towards the butt; B has both straight and slightly convex sides, suggesting a transition to the oblong plan, the beginnings of which are seen in C and D. In E the sides of the two celts have become nearly straight again in plan, but the face is almost an oblong, as opposed to the triangular plan of A. The so-called chisels may be classed as straight-sided, and the two unpolished specimens are slightly concave at the sides above the cutting-edge.

The sides of all the specimens in groups A–D have been more or less polished, the ends of the pointed oval section being generally smoothed by rubbing, without any essential alteration. The two Bexley Heath celts, however, have been squared, that is, the sides have been considerably reduced and flattened by grinding, a late feature characteristic of the Dolmen Period in Scandinavia.

[1] The evolution is sketched in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, ii, 491.

It might be argued that the celts of groups A–D are unfinished, and were intended to have squared sides; but it is difficult to explain the omission in so many cases as merely accidental; and the 'chisels' in the same hoard do not weaken the argument, as they are tools of another kind, made intentionally thus.

If the order is in fact chronological, there was clearly a development of the thin celt A with almost flat faces into the pointed oval section, which gradually merged into a lozenge, at least in this country, and later approached the oblong section of the Scandinavian dolmen-celt. This last is not so well represented in Britain as the preceding stage which is well exemplified in the British Museum and at Norwich; and the thick celt with almost a rib down the middle of both faces may prove to be fundamentally British. Group D shows three stages of this development, and as the specimens are presumably contemporary, the change cannot have been of long duration. It is not permissible to argue that the lozenge section in this case was in process of being reduced to a pointed oval: there are too many of the former type in existence, and most have a finished appearance.

To apply mathematical proportions to neolithic celts might seem to be courting disaster, but it is clear that measurements mean a good deal in this connexion. Whatever the reason or interpretation may be, it should be remarked that all the celts of A and all but one of B have a thickness less than half the maximum breadth; whereas in C, D, and the celts of E, the thickness is greater than half the breadth.

A fair conclusion from this evidence is that the lenticle or pointed oval section gradually attained an extreme convexity, and when no further advance in this respect was possible, the sides were squared and the swollen section subsided. Whether this rule is destined to be revised depends on the discovery of other hoards; but in yet another aspect the Scandinavian sequence runs for a time parallel to that already suggested. Considerable importance has been attached to the plan of the cutting-edge; and in view of the many modifications due to re-grinding it is remarkable that the curves conform as closely as they do to the changing standard now recognized in Scandinavia. The entire series need not be recapitulated; but attention may be drawn to the gradual flattening of the semicircle traced by the cutting-edge in A, till the 'megalithic' cutting-edge is reached, which is almost a straight line ending in sharp angles. In this connexion reference may be made to a paper[1] by our Hon. Fellow M. Rutot, who has suggested for the earlier type of Robenhausen celts—that with very convex faces—the name of Spiennes, the Belgian flint-mining area; and the later or flat-faced celts of the Robenhausen culture (represented in some of the

[1] *Essai de comparaison entre le Néolithique de France et de Belgique et celui de la Scandinavie* (1908): Autun Congress, *Compte rendu* (1907), 253.

Swiss lake-dwellings) he prefers to call Scandinavian, as the types are best developed in the north.

It should be noted that the larger celts described above are all white or greyish, and though patination may account for this in part, it seems evident that all are made of the grey flint brought by glacial action from Lincolnshire and worked by neolithic man in East Anglia. This quality of flint may have commended itself to craftsmen at a time when implements were shaped by grinding rather than by chipping; but the thin-butted celts with extremely convex faces were not exclusively made of this grey material, and there are in the national collection brown and black specimens of exactly the same type from the Thames, besides a brown one from Mildenhall in north-west Suffolk. Patination or surface condition is therefore an unsafe guide in the classification of the later celts.

In many respects the neolithic celts of Scandinavia are so different from our own that full confidence cannot at present be placed in the series here formulated; and difficulties are bound to arise when a place is sought for aberrant forms, or the scheme is applied to other parts of the country. For instance, a hoard of flints, now in the British Museum, was found in Ayton East field on the southern edge of Seamer Moor, N. R. Yorks.,[1] in a cairn, within what seems to have been a long barrow ('85 ft. from its base to apex in length, and 50 ft. from its base to apex in breadth'). The limestone cairn was 40 ft. from the exterior of the mound; and near the centre, at a depth of 8 in. from the surface, was a thin flat stone 20 in. by 18 in., partly covering a few human bones, 4 celts, 5 lozenge arrow-heads and two other flints (fig. 4), boars' tusks, and minor objects. All these may have accompanied a skeleton, but in any case are clearly contemporary and useful on that account.

The celts are smaller than those treated above; the cutting-edge of all four is regular and polished, and the butt thin and unpolished:

1. Greyish white, polished over half the surface and slightly on the side edges. L. 5·3 in.; max. B. 1·8 in.

2. Of 'chisel' type, the flatter face bluish and about half the surface and lower half of the side edges polished. L. 5·3 in.; max. B. 1·3 in.

3. Creamy white, equally convex faces less polished than the others, and side edges unpolished. L. 4·2 in.; max. B. 2 in.

4. Of 'chisel' type, with greyish and bluish white faces equally convex, the sides not polished but rubbed at notch beside butt. L. 3·8 in.; max. B. 1·1 in.

All therefore belong to the large class of thin-butted celts, which are roughly

[1] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv (1849), 105, fig. 4.

contemporary with the dolmens. The cutting-edge is not quite uniform, but fairly rounded; the sides are not in the least squared, the section being a pointed oval, and the incurved sides are more akin to group A than to the others, which are convex in plan. The tapering butt and longitudinal section (showing almost

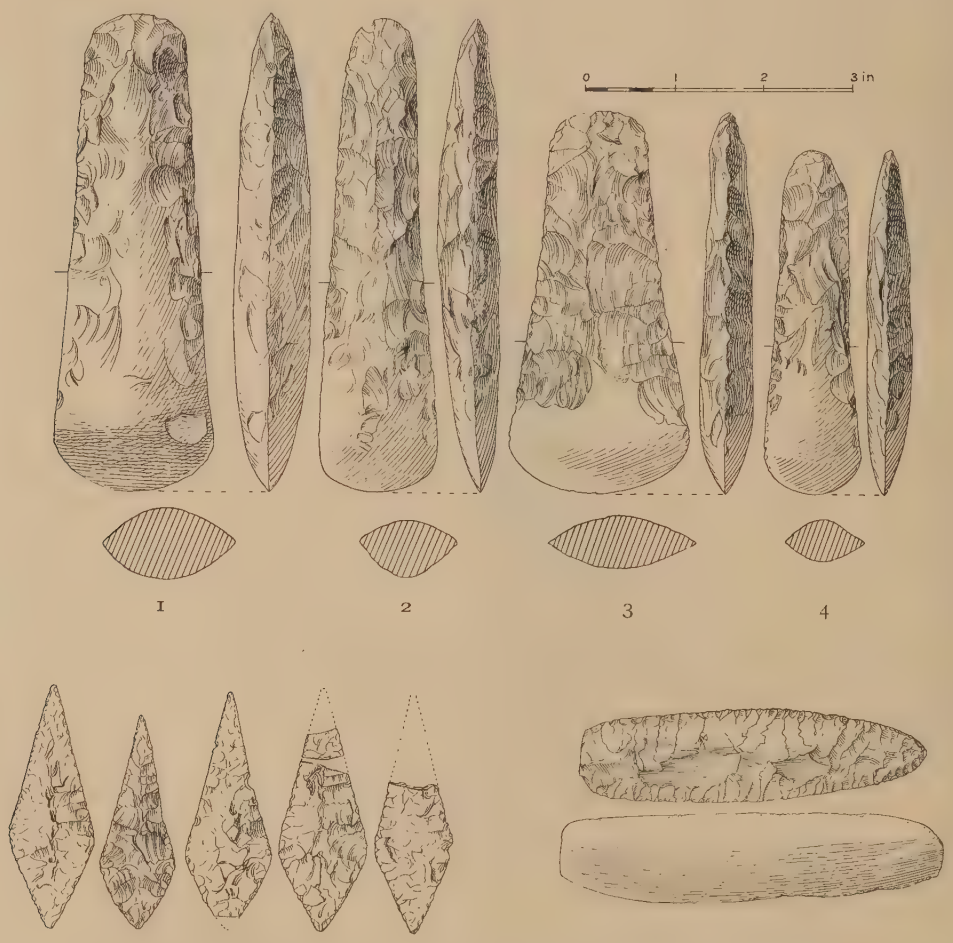


Fig. 4. Flint implements found together, Seamer Moor, N. R. Yorks.

parallel faces) are also more in agreement with A than the other groups, though the greatest thickness does not sink below the centre before group D.

As this is a Yorkshire find, about 90 miles north of Holkham, the incurved sides of the celts and the single flat face of no. 2 may be due to local conditions, but the essential agreement with group A throws some light on the latter, as the five lance- or arrow-heads from Seamer Moor are all of the same pattern and

are contemporary with the early barrows of Britain.[1] Associated finds of this character will some day furnish an answer to the question whether there was an orderly sequence of types, or whether each variety continued to be made for its particular purpose throughout the Neolithic Period.

The above classification rests ultimately on the evidence of sequence obtained in Scandinavia. The system has been on trial for years, and would be readily accepted for the late Neolithic of northern Europe, but local adaptations will no doubt prove necessary for Britain and parts of the Continent. Even when the main lines are agreed upon, there emerge subsidiary problems, one of which may be touched upon in conclusion. In any large collection can be found several celts of megalithic character which have been broken across and re-chipped to such an extent that only a patch or two of polish can now be detected.

This mutilation is mysterious in itself, and involves a chronological difficulty. The ordinary course would have been to sharpen a damaged cutting-edge by re-grinding ; or, if a celt were broken across the middle in use, to discard it at once as worthless. In default of a census, it may be stated with confidence that most of these re-chipped celts were originally polished specimens of the thin-butted type, with squared sides; the minority being mostly celts with pointed oval section, dating presumably just before the Dolmen Period.

Now in Britain metal seems to have come into use immediately after the thin-butted celt, there being no thick-butted specimens here like those of the passage-graves and cist-burials of Scandinavia.

Most of the mutilated celts, of which hundreds are preserved, must therefore follow the latest leading type of flint celt in Britain, which is almost equivalent to saying that the re-chipping was done in the Bronze (or at least the Copper) Age ; yet they are not found normally in the round-barrows, where flakes are fairly common. Flint-working had not died out, but the practice of polishing celts was soon abandoned, and the masterpieces of the late Neolithic, whether picked up whole or broken, were ruthlessly flaked by the first users of metal in Britain, the result often being to destroy altogether the utility of the implement. The patination shows that there was no great interval between the polishing and subsequent flaking, but the change was a radical one ; and on the Scandinavian theory can only be attributed to an invasion about 2000 B.C. that brought neolithic culture perhaps to a violent end, and gave Britain a good start in the new industry that changed the face of Europe.

[1] For example, Winterbourne Stoke, Wilts. (*Arch.*, xliii, 414, and *Proceedings*, 2nd ser., ii, 427); Calais Wold, E. R. Yorks. (*Proceedings*, 2nd ser., iii, 324); Ringham Low, Monyash, Derbyshire (Bateman, *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 95).

On the Classification of Scandinavian Flint Celts.

Nils Åberg, *Studier öfver den yngre Stenålderen i Norden och Västeuropa* (1912).
,, ,, *Kalmar Läns Stenålder* (1913).
A. W. Brøgger, *Norges vestlands Stenalder* (1907).
W. C. Brøgger, *Strandliniens Beliggenhed under Stenålderen i det sydöstlige Norge.*
Helge Gjessing, *Rogalands Stenalder* (1920).
Otto Rydbek, *Fornvännen*, 1916, 119.
Haakon Shetelig, *Vorgeschichte Norwegens* (1911).

V.—*The Heraldry in the Chicheley Porch of the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury.* *By* Ralph Griffin, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 25th November 1920.

Some five years ago I read before the Society some portion of a paper concerning the shields of arms which are to be found in the vault of the cloisters at Canterbury cathedral. The whole of this paper was afterwards published in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxvi, pp. 447 *seqq.* At that time I was urged to proceed farther and deal with the shields in the vault of the south porch. I was quite ready to do this; but my photographers who, fortunately for themselves, were of military age, found themselves, as heralds would say, in their proper colours, namely khaki, and had business more important in hand. They are now all safely back in their various employments, and this year (1920) I have been able to carry forward my plan to completion. I made due acknowledgement before of what I owed them for their excellent photographs; and the photographs from which the present illustrations are prepared do not, I think, show any falling off, though the materials they can now get may not be of pre-war quality.

Some facts must first be set out about the work which was going on at Canterbury about 1400. By that date a new nave with aisles had replaced the Norman work previously standing on the same site. Along nearly the whole of the north wall of the north aisle Archbishop Courtenay had constructed at his own expense the south pane of the new cloisters, and with the assistance of the next archbishop (Arundel) and other benefactors, the other three panes were constructed, the shields in the vault showing the arms of the nobility and gentry of Kent, all of whom it is supposed contributed to the work, which was completed probably about 1414. On the death of Arundel in this year, Henry Chicheley became archbishop. He found the north and south aisles of the nave terminated by two Norman towers. With his encouragement the rebuilding of the south-west tower was undertaken, and a suitable south-west

porch was erected. It will be seen from the twenty-nine shields with which the vault of the porch, like the vault of the cloisters, is studded, that it must have been finished about 1423. It is tolerably clear from Buckler's drawings in the Society's collections that when building the nave aisles before 1400 the builders lined the north and south walls of the west towers with Caen stone and placed the pillars from which the vaulting sprang against the west wall of the towers. It is probable that they built the porch first, as being the more pressing work, and then went on with the Oxford tower. It is known from the building accounts that they started on that in 1423. The porch then, if my conjecture is right, was built in 1422 and 1423, and this corresponds almost exactly with the conclusion to be drawn from the heraldry. It consists mainly of coats of arms of descendants of the Fair Maid of Kent, whose male line terminated at the death *s. p.* of her grandson, Edmund Holand, earl of Kent, in 1408, when the earldom fell into abeyance between his sisters and their descendants. Other coats in the porch are due to special connexion of the owners with Kent and the cathedral. It is interesting to know that the builders drew their stone from Caen in France by water, from Merstham in Surrey by road, and from a quarry in the north—possibly Barnack—by water and road.

The centre of the vault is occupied by a fine boss of the royal arms (new France *quartering* England). No shield of the royal arms appears with the label of an eldest son, which points to the fact that the king was Henry VI, whose only son was not born till 1453. From the death of Henry V in 1422 until 1453, therefore, no one was entitled to use the royal arms with the label of an eldest son. The royal arms, however, do appear in the vault with various other differences—in shields nos. 4, 5, 6, 21, and 26. In shields nos. 4 and 5 the difference is the gobony bordure of the Plantagenet livery colours of blue and silver used by the Beauforts. In shield no. 6 the bordure is plain, as used by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. Shield no. 21 has the label of five points, two of Brittany and three of France, used by John, duke of Bedford, while shield no. 26 has a label of three points ermine used by Thomas, duke of Clarence. These three dukes were sons of Henry IV.

Many of the other shields in the vault, as above stated, are due to the connexion of the cathedral with Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, who was daughter and eventually sole heiress of Edmund of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward I by Margaret of France. Edmund of Woodstock used as his arms England with a bordure of silver (no. 25). Joan's mother was Margaret, sister and heiress of Thomas, lord Wake, and Joan was *suo iure* baroness Wake (no. 29). She was contracted to William Montacute, second earl of Salisbury (no. 9), but preferred to marry his steward Thomas Holand. Her grandson, Thomas Holand, married Joan, daughter of Hugh, second earl of Stafford (no. 12), by a daughter of

Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (no. 2). At the death of another of her grandsons, Edmund Holand, the barony of Wake fell into abeyance between his coheirs, who were his sisters or their descendants. His sisters were: (1) Eleanor, who married Roger Mortimer, earl of March (no. 3); (2) Margaret, who married first John Beaufort, earl of Somerset (no. 4), and afterwards the duke of Clarence[1] (no. 26); (3) Joan, married the duke of York; (4) Eleanor, wife of Thomas, earl of Salisbury (no. 9); (5) Elizabeth, married Sir John Nevill (no. 17). In the detailed notes *infra* under each shield it will be noticed that others, though not mentioned above, are assigned to persons related to the Holands.

The Society's MS. no. 162, which was so useful in the case of the shields in the cloisters, contains also twenty-eight shields in this south porch (ff. 38, 38ᵛ, 39), in trick. They are not always quite accurate, and only one name, that of Cobham, is assigned to its shield, but the tricks have interest as showing that the shields of Courtenay (no. 18), of Beauchamp of Bergavenny (no. 10), and of Beauchamp *quartering* Newburgh (no. 2), were then (*c.* 1600) damaged exactly as they are now. The MS. does not help at all on the differences which appear on the royal arms in several of the shields. Mr. Willement (*Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, 1827) gives his version of the shields on pp. 9 *seqq.* of his book, and adds valuable notes about the individuals to whom he thinks they should be assigned. It has not been considered necessary to follow his numerical order for the shields. The plates show first the complete vault and then each shield in its numerical order.

1. The royal arms.

As pointed out above, p 126, this must be for Henry VI.

2. A fess between six crosslets *quartering* chequy a chevron ermine.

Beauchamp (*gu., a fess between six crosslets or*) and Newburgh (*chequy or and az., a chevron ermine*) quarterly as borne by Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, 1401, K.G. 1403. He married (1) Elizabeth d. and h. of Thomas, lord Berkeley; she died in 1422; (2) in 1423 Isabel le Despenser, his cousin's widow (no. 10), whose coat of Clare and Despenser quarterly is in pretence on his stall plate (*Hope, Pl.* xxxiv). The earl died in 1439, and has a magnificent tomb at Warwick.

[1] The great alabaster tomb in the Warriors' Chapel, also known as St. Michael's Chapel, completed in 1439 a few days before this duchess Margaret died, has on it her effigy between the effigies of her two husbands, whose remains had previously rested in the monks' cemetery. Thence, when the tomb was completed, they were removed, as noted by John Stone in his chronicle, to this altar tomb, where the body of the duchess was also buried. On the bosses of the vault above the tomb are the shields of Clarence impaling Holand, of Clarence alone, and of Beaufort, with the badges of the Fair Maid and of Somerset.

3. Mortimer *quartering* De Burgh.

Mortimer may be blazoned *az., three bars or, over all an inescutcheon arg., in chief two pallets between two gyrons or,* as in the Society's MS. 136, part i, dated *c.* 1350, while De Burgh is *or a cross gu.* This shield is for Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, whose mother Eleanor Holand was granddaughter to the Fair Maid. He married Lady Anne Stafford (no. 12), and, dying in 1425 was buried at Stoke-by-Clare.

4. The royal arms with a bordure gobony.

This, as pointed out above at p. 126, is the shield of the Beauforts, and is here for John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, who, dying in 1410, has a sumptuous altar tomb in the Warriors' Chapel, on which is his effigy in alabaster alongside that of his wife and of her second husband, the duke of Clarence, who married her in 1411. See above, p. 127. This John Beaufort was, by her, grandfather of the great Lady Margaret.

5. As no. 4, but with a mitre on the bordure in chief.

For Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, 1405–47. He received a cardinal's hat in 1426, which would probably have appeared here if the porch had not been built before that date. The letter books of the priory are full of instances of his great munificence to the cathedral. He was brother of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset (no. 4).

6. The royal arms within a plain bordure.

This, the bordure being *argent,* is for Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry V. He was warden of the five ports from 1415, and constable of Dover Castle. He married after 1425 Eleanor Cobham of Sterborough (no. 8), and Dr. Cocks's MS. (cited in vol. lxvi, p. 50 as C.) shows her arms impaled with these as once in a window in Greenwich church. There is no doubt that the plain bordure was used by this duke, for it appears frequently on his tomb at St. Albans.

7. Barry of six.

John Grey, fifth lord Grey of Codnor, had summons to parliament from 1420 to 1429, and bore, according to the Rouen Roll, 1418, *barry of six arg. and az.* His grandmother was a Cobham of Sterborough (no. 8), and he had large estates in Kent, his principal seat being at Aylesford. He died unmarried in 1430.

8. On a chevron three estoiles.

Cobham of Sterborough bore *gu., on a chevron or three estoiles sa.* The remarks under shields nos. 6 and 7 give good reason for the appearance of this shield in this place. It may be assigned to Reynold de Cobham of Sterborough, knighted 1426, died 1446. His half-sister was lady Roos of Hamlake (no. 19).

9. A fess of three fusils *quartering* an eagle displayed.

Montacute *arg., a fess of three fusils gu.,* quartering Monthermer, *or, an eagle displayed vert armed gu.,* the bearing of Thomas de Montacute, who became fourth earl of Salisbury in 1409. He took a prominent part in the French wars, and was slain in 1428 at the siege of Orleans. His first wife was Eleanor, one of the Holand coheiresses.

10. A fess between six crosslets with a crescent on the fess for difference.

The shield of Beauchamp as under no. 2 differenced by *a crescent sa., on the fess* was borne by Beauchamp of Bergavenny. Richard Beauchamp of Bergavenny, a grandson of Katherine daughter of Roger Mortimer, earl of March (no. 3), was in 1420 created earl of Worcester, and died 1422 leaving a daughter and sole heiress of his vast estates, which she carried to the Nevills, as she married the youngest son of Ralph Nevill, first earl of Westmorland. Richard's widow, Isabel Despenser, a great lady and a baroness in her own right, remarried his cousin, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (no. 2).

11. A fret.

In this position the arms of James, lord Audley (*gu., a fret or*), who had summons to Parliament 1420 to 1455. He married first, Margaret, daughter of William lord Roos (no. 19), and secondly, a Holand.

12. A chevron.

Here no doubt for Sir Humphrey Stafford, who succeeded as earl of Stafford in 1403. He bore *or a chevron gu.*, as on his stall plate (*Hope, Pl.* lii), for he was elected K.G. in 1429. His mother, who survived till 1438, was daughter and eventually sole heiress of Thomas of Woodstock. Sir Humphrey owned Tonbridge Castle, and was in many commissions for Kent. It may further be pointed out that his kinsman John Stafford eventually succeeded Chicheley as archbishop, and in 1423 was vicar-general to Chicheley and Treasurer of England, being closely allied with Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester (no. 5), and his party.

13. On a chevron three lions rampant.

John de Cobham, lord Cobham, bore *gu., on a chevron or, three lions rampant sa.* He died in 1408, after he had founded his college at Cobham and built his castle at Cowling. He had only one child, Joan, who married John de la Pole of Chrishall in Essex. This Joan died in her father's lifetime, leaving an only child Joan de la Pole, who was her grandfather's heir and became at his death baroness Cobham. She had five husbands, the fourth being Sir John Oldcastle, who was hanged in 1417. His coat is in the cloisters, but is not in this porch. The arms of De la Pole are at no. 27.

14. On a cross in fess point Ἰ.

With the field *azure*, the cross *argent*, and letters *sable*, this is the shield of the priory of Christ Church. See shield no. 430 in the cloisters. Here and in the cloisters there is no dot over the upper letter. As it represents the Greek *iota* this is correct, though in some more modern renderings the true origin is forgotten and a dot is added.

15. The see *impaling* Chicheley.

The arms of the see are noted under shield no. 9 in the cloisters, and may here be blazoned *az., an episcopal staff in pale or, ensigned with a cross formy arg., surmounted by a pall arg., edged and fringed or charged with three crosses formy sa.* The impaled coat is *or a chevron between three pierced cinquefoils gu.*, the arms of Chicheley. Henry Chicheley was archbishop from 1414 to 1443, and to his munificence this porch was largely due. Having finished it and started the building of the Oxford tower above, he proceeded to erect for himself a tomb in the cathedral finished in 1425. The south-west tower is known as the Oxford tower because of the close connexion of this archbishop with that university.

16. Two chevrons and a quarter.

The family of Criol or Kyriel bore *or two chevrons and a quarter gu.* As will be seen from a pedigree in the paper on the cloister shields it was long connected with Kent. The member of the family to whom this shield in the porch may be assigned is Sir Thomas Kyriel, knt., who from 1422 onwards was in many commissions in the county. He owned the manor of Westenhanger. In an entry on the Patent Rolls in 1420 he is spoken of as the king's knight, and gets livery of lands coming to him on the death of Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas Kyriel. Another member of the family married a niece of Archbishop Chicheley (no. 15).

17. A saltire.

This is probably a Nevill coat *gu. a saltire arg.*, for Ralph, lord Nevill of Raby and earl of Westmorland. He married, as his second wife, Joan Beaufort, widow of Sir Robert Ferrers. She was an illegitimate daughter of John of Gaunt and a sister of John Beaufort (no. 4) and Cardinal Beaufort (no. 5). It may be observed further that Sir John Nevill married one of the Holand coheiresses.

18. Three roundels a label of three.

Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, who bore *or three torteaux a label of three az.*, succeeded his father in 1422, and was much engaged in the French wars. He married about 1421 Margaret, second daughter of John Beaufort, first earl of Somerset, by Margaret Holand. See note under no. 4.

19. Three bougets.

The shield of William, lord Roos, was *gu., three bougets arg.* He died 1414 seized of Chilham Castle, and was buried in the cathedral. His daughter married an Audley (no. 11), while his son John who succeeded him was killed at Beaugé in 1420. These arms were in glass in the Chapter House.

20. Quarterly and in the first quarter a pierced mullet.

The coat of the Veres was *quarterly, gu. and or in the first quarter a pierced mullet arg.* They held the manor of Badlesmere. John de Vere, third earl of Oxford, who succeeded his father in 1417, was knighted in 1426, and was of the privy council. He held Fleet in Ash. His father may have married a Holand as his first wife.

21. The Royal Arms with a label of five points, two of Brittany and three of France.

John, duke of Bedford, third son of Henry IV, constable of England. In 1422 he became protector of the kingdom after the death of Henry V and regent of France. He died at Rouen in 1435.

The history of this label is interesting. It was used by Henry IV in 1399. The ermine points he would wear for his honour of Richmond, which he derived from John de Dreux, count of Brittany and earl of Richmond, whose coat was *ermine.* John of Gaunt used *a label ermine* for the same reason. The three points of France were indicative of the duchy of Lancaster. Henry, the first duke of Lancaster, is so distinguished on his shield, as shown on the Elsyng Brass and in the roll of arms *c.* 1350, one of the treasures of the Society (MS. no. 136, part i) cited above under no. 3.

22. England a label of three.

This with the label *argent* is the coat of Thomas of Brotherton, afterwards used by the Mowbrays, dukes of Norfolk. Here it is for John de Mowbray, earl marshal, who took a prominent part in the French wars, and whose claim to be duke of Norfolk was allowed in 1424. He married a daughter of Ralph, first earl of Westmorland by Joan Beaufort (no. 17).

23. Seven mascles, three, three, and one.

William, lord Ferrers of Groby from 1388 to 1445, bore *gu., seven mascles or 3, 3, and 1.* He served in the French wars, and married as his second wife a daughter of John Montacute, third earl of Salisbury. See notes under shields no. 9 and no. 17 for the connexion with Holand.

It may be observed that a branch of Ferrers had property in East Peckham, and in the church there is a tomb on the side of which are carved these very arms. The tomb is of later date, being *c.* 1450.

24. A cinquefoil in an orle of crosslets.

The Umfraville coat *gu., a cinquefoil in an orle of crosslets or* is here beautifully rendered. Gilbert de Umfraville, constable of Queenborough Castle, was distinguished in the French wars, and was by Henry V made marshal of France. He married Ann, fifth daughter of Ralph, first earl of Westmorland (no. 17), by his wife Margaret Stafford (no. 12). Gilbert was slain at Beaugé, and at his death Robert de Umfraville, king's knight, succeeded to a large part of the estates. He did not die till 1436.

25. England a bordure.

This with the bordure *argent* was used by Edmund of Woodstock, son of Edward I and first earl of Kent. He was father of the Fair Maid, and the Holands, as her descendants and earls of Kent, adopted this coat in place of their family coat of *az. flory and a lion rampant guardant arg.*

26. The Royal Arms with a label of three points ermine.

This is the difference used by Thomas, duke of Clarence, son of Henry IV, slain at Beaugé in 1421. His remains were brought over to England and buried at Canterbury. See above, p. 127. On the roof of the Warriors' Chapel is this very coat, and it is also in the cloisters impaling his wife's on a shield, not noted by Willement, in compartment 33, p. 555. In the cathedral there nowhere appears the *canton gules on each point* which is sometimes ascribed to this duke.

27. A fess between three leopards' faces *quartering* on a bend three pairs of wings.

William de la Pole, sixth earl of Suffolk, was elected K.G. 1421, and this coat is on his stall plate (*Hope, Pl.* l), being there *quarterly 1 and 4 az., a fess between three leopards' faces or, 2 and 3 arg., on a bend gu., three pairs of wings arg.* He married the widow of the fourth earl of Salisbury (no. 9), and was active in the French wars, succeeding that earl in the command of the forces at the siege of Orleans. He was a connexion of the lady of Cobham (no. 13), but these arms do not appear on her brass at Cobham nor on that of her father and mother at Chrishall; but the first quarter, with an annulet on the fess for difference, does appear for no clear reason on that of her descendant, Sir Thomas Brooke, eighth lord Cobham, at Cobham.

28. A fret and a chief.

The family of St. Leger who bore *az., a fret arg., a chief or* held the manor of Ulcomb from the archbishop. Little is known certainly about the descent of that important manor.

29. Two bars and in chief three roundels.

Wake bore *or two bars gu., in chief three torteaux.* As pointed out above the Fair Maid was baroness Wake in her own right.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL: CHICHELEY PORCH

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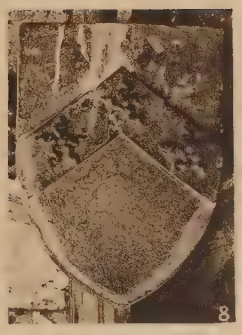

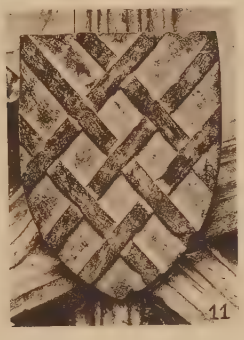

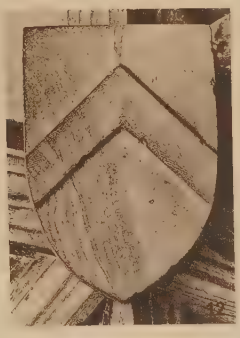

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VI.—*The Llynfawr and other Hoards of the Bronze Age.* *By* O. G. S. Crawford, *Esq., B.A., and* R. E. M. Wheeler, *Esq., M.C., D.Lit.*

Read 10th February 1921.

I. The Llynfawr Hoard (pl. IX).

Mr. John Ward, F.S.A., lately Keeper of the Department of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales, has been prevented by illness from publishing this hoard, which was until recently under his care. The following summary embodies information kindly supplied by him regarding the circumstances of the find.

Some years ago the Rhondda District Council converted Llynfawr, in the parish of Rhigos in northern Glamorganshire, into a reservoir for the district under its control. The lake was drained, and when the deposits were being removed in June 1911 the present hoard was discovered. The accounts of the discovery vary in detail, and the Council's engineer, Mr. J. Vevers, who was in possession of the facts, died before a complete record could be obtained. According to the *Western Mail* of 24th June 1911, the objects were found at a depth of 30 ft. in the peat, and according to another local paper they were in a bed of peat 50 ft. thick. Mr. Vevers, however, writing on 1st July following stated that 'there is no excavation 30 ft. deep in the peat, nor is it an established fact that the peat in the lake is anywhere 30 ft. deep. The deepest excavations so far made are about 12 ft. deep. The objects were in the close vicinity of a large number of roots of felled oak trees on which the marks of very effective axes are quite apparent.' Mr. George Stow, the contractor, was able to recover some of the objects from the workmen. The implements thus rescued were subsequently transferred to the National Museum of Wales, but others are said to have been retained by the men and are apparently lost beyond recovery.

Mr. Ward's inquiries on the spot complicated rather than explained the variations in the accounts of the discovery. He was told by one informant that below the peat was a tenacious clay; by others, that the peat was the bottom bed, and was covered with muddy clay. No timber was thought to have been noticed in the peat, although we have Mr. Vevers's definite statement

to the contrary. No information was forthcoming as to the depth at which the hoard had been found, nor had any potsherds or other remains been observed in the course of the work. In short, no very certain facts regarding the discoveries are now available, and the possibility that the hewn timbers, if they existed, may have formed part of a lake settlement must remain undetermined.

The hoard, as at present known, consists of twenty pieces, namely:

(1) Five socketed bronze axes and the fragment of a sixth.
(2) Three socketed bronze gouges.
(3) Two winged chapes (one fragmentary).
(4) A bronze razor.
(5) A bronze belt-clasp.
(6) An ornamental bronze plate, probably for attachment to leather.
(7) Three bronze discs (fig. 1).
(8) Two bronze sickles, and a third sickle of similar form but wrought of iron (fig. 2).

With the hoard was preserved an iron spear-head which Mr. Vevers said was found 'with or near the bronze objects'; and a large bronze cauldron was dug up near the middle of the lake at a distance of some 200 ft. north-west of the main site.

Of the axes, two are from the same mould, and all are finished and sharpened for use. The smallest is of the rounded type, which is more common in Ireland than in Britain, although a number of examples have, not unnaturally, been found in Wales. The razor, which retains its sharp cutting-edge, is a variant of the well-known Hallstatt type, of crescentic form with one or more loops,[1] a type exceedingly rare in the British Isles.[2] The ornamented bronze plate is a single casting and has at the back three small loops for attachment. Its prototype, from a tumulus of the Hallstatt period in the Jura, is illustrated by Déchelette (*Manuel*, ii, fig. 251); in this the discs are suspended by small links which, in the Llynfawr specimen, have been incorporated in the casting. The two chapes (again of pronounced Hallstatt type) differ remarkably from their kind in that the central bar is closed on its upper surface whereas the wings are open and pierced for rivets, thus presuming a pair of corresponding wings on the sheath itself. This variation must have

[1] Cf. Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, fig. 369, 3–10.

[2] Rudimentary examples are mentioned by Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 214, but these scarcely deserve to be included in the series. A better example was found in the Thames (*B. M. Bronze Age Guide*, 1920, p. 56). See also O. G. S. Crawford, *Antiquaries Journal*, ii, p. 32. In the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye are several analogous razors found with bronze and early iron objects in tumuli in the Côte-d'Or: see S. Reinach, *Catalogue illustré*, ii (1921), pp. 222–4.

been a tentative improvement on the part of some artificer who found that the normal winged chape, with central attachment, was liable to be wrenched off, and therefore devised this more secure if rather clumsy alternative. The 'improvement' may perhaps be regarded as an indication of a comparatively recent date for the Llynfawr specimen. The backs of the chapes are flat and unworked.

The three bronze discs (fig. 1) belong to a considerable group of objects

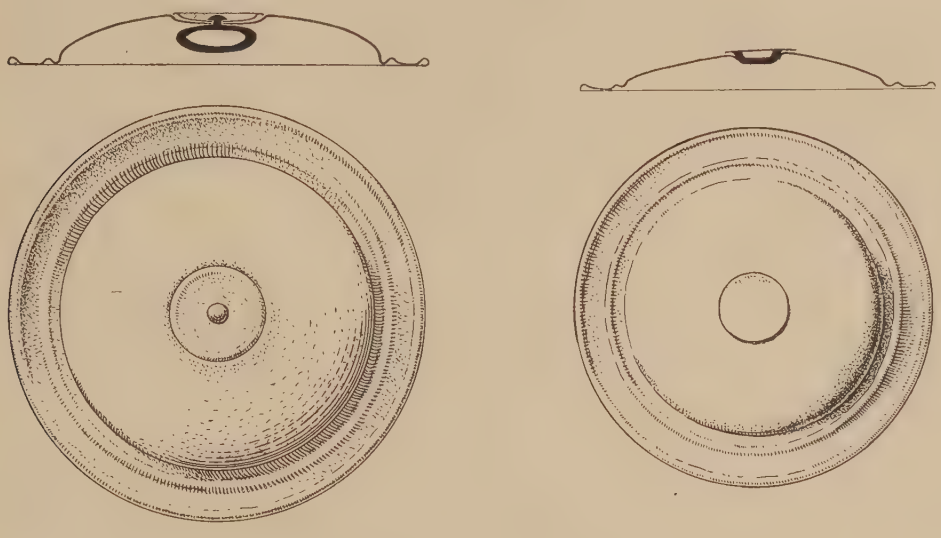

Fig. 1. Bronze discs, Llynfawr hoard ($\frac{1}{3}$).

which may in some cases have been shield bosses and in others were possibly dress or harness ornaments, and may even occasionally have been attached to a leather jerkin as a sort of light armour.[1] Those in the present hoard have a central stud, bearing at the back a square or oval loop for attachment. The British Museum contains similar discs from the Swiss lakes (J. P. Morgan Collection) and from St. Martin, Aube (Morel Collection).

The group of three socketed sickles forms the most notable feature of the hoard. Two are of bronze and individually present no very exceptional features beyond the unusual excellence of their workmanship. The length of the socket has enabled the central rib of the blade to be carried across the narrowed top of it, and the consequent blending of the blade into the socket seems to place these specimens late in their series.[2] One sickle has two pairs of rivet-holes,

[1] Cf. *B. M. Guide to Greek and Roman Life* (1920), p. 87, fig. 84. For other suggestions see Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 403.

[2] Contrast, for example, the Brentford sickle (R. A. Smith, *Arch.*, lxxix, 17, fig. 15), where the more normal division between blade and socket suggests typologically a slightly earlier stage of development.

the other a single pair. The third and largest sickle (fig. 2) is of iron.[1] In form it is a painstaking imitation of bronze models, modified only by the exigencies of the new material; the plate from which the socket has been rolled meets in a vertical seam beneath the blade, and is held to its shape by a grooved iron ring welded on to its lower end. The base of the socket protruded very slightly below this ring and was hammered back to hold it in position. The whole work is the *tour de force* of a master craftsman trained in the technique of bronze and playing with a new material which he does not fully understand.

The iron spear-head, which probably, though not certainly, belongs to the hoard, lacks distinctive features. Like the iron sickle, it is coated with an accidental veneer of bronze, and was therefore almost beyond doubt associated with the remainder of the hoard.

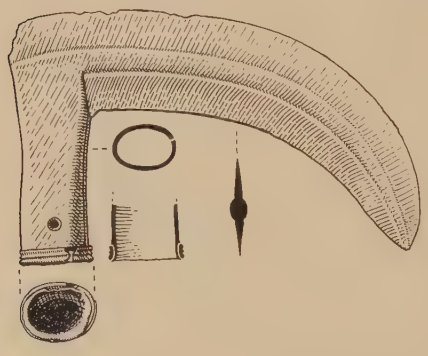

Fig. 2. Iron sickle, Llynfawr hoard (⅓).

The bronze cauldron (pl. XII, fig. 1) may have no direct connexion with the hoard, although it can be assigned to the same period. It is of a well-known type, of which examples have occurred in various parts of the British Isles, but not apparently on the Continent.[2] Specimens have been found near London, Ipswich, Edinburgh, and Stirling; in Ayrshire, Berwickshire, and Kirkcudbrightshire; and in Ireland at Dowris (where one contained part of the famous bronze hoard), Farney, and elsewhere. That from Llynfawr is formed of five tiers of plates with the conical rivets which characterize other members of the group, and the heavy rim beneath the handles is strengthened by two strips of metal resembling plaitwork thongs.[3] The ring handles are fluted. The diameter across the rim is 1 ft. 8 in., and the height is 1 ft. 2 in.

These vessels clearly belong to the latest Bronze and earliest Iron ages.[4] The Dowris specimen gives the earlier 'date', and those from Kircudbrightshire and Berwickshire, found in association with iron tools, give the later. Additional evidence is provided by the occurrence of a bronze situla of the Hallstatt type with the Dowris hoard, and the Llynfawr cauldron falls naturally into place if included with the hoard near which it was found.

R. E. M. W.

[1] It is apparently coated with bronze, but Professor W. Gowland, F.R.S., who has kindly submitted it to a minute examination, has come to the conclusion that the appearance is due solely to association with the bronze implements.

[2] Evans, *Bronze Implements*, pp. 409–12; *B. M. Bronze Age Guide* (1920), p. 55.

[3] Cf. the Battersea cauldron (*B. M. Guide*, pl. v).

[4] Cf. Evans, p. 410.

THE LLYNFAWR HOARD (Scale = 6 in.).

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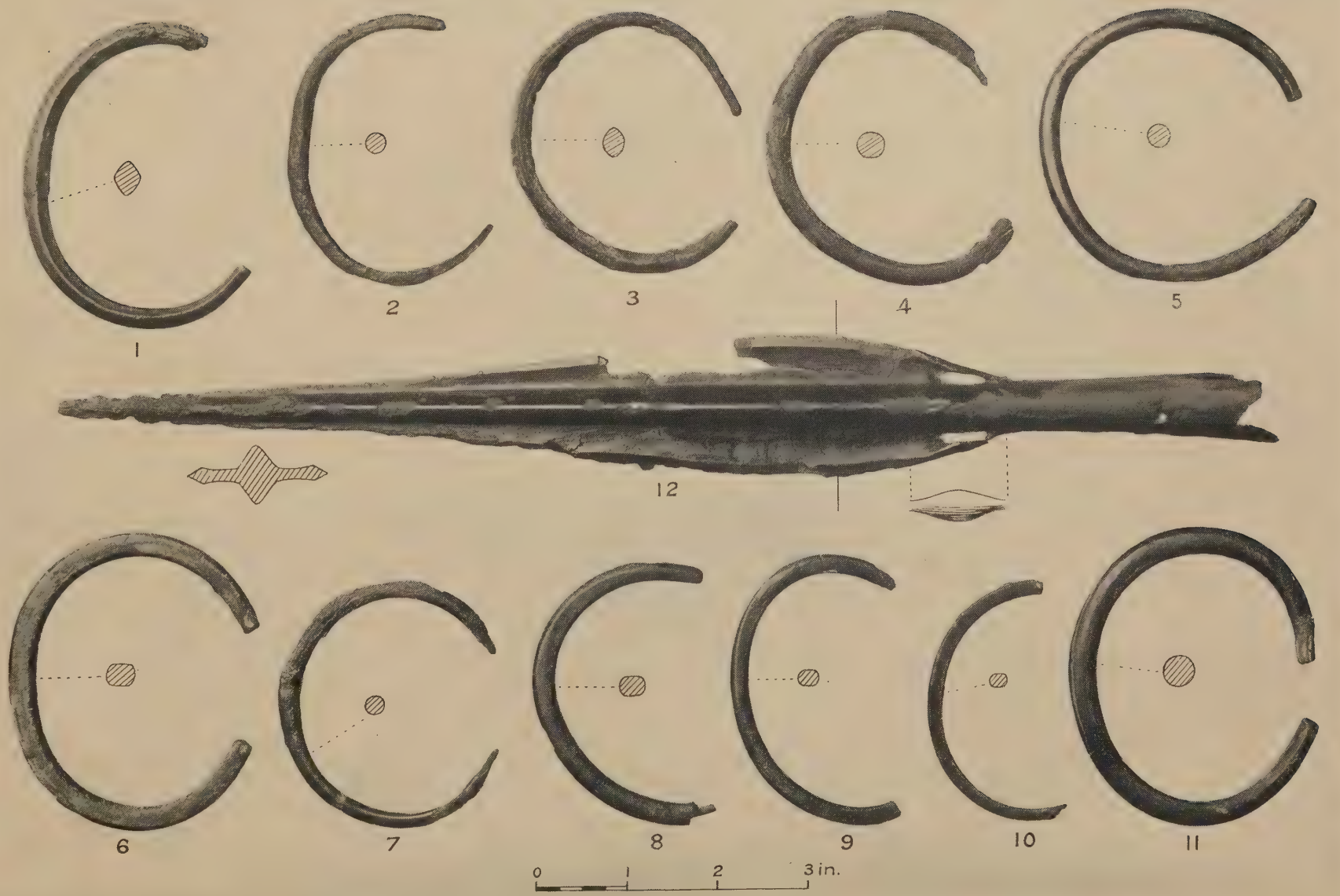

HOARD FOUND AT BRADING, ISLE OF WIGHT

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HOARD FOUND AT MONKSWOOD, NEAR BATH

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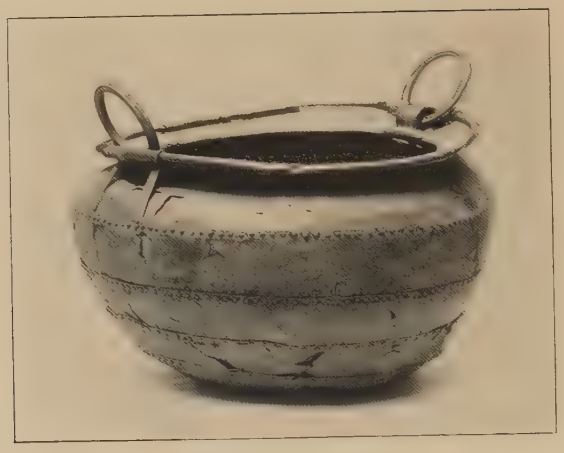


Fig. 1. Cauldron from Llynfawr ($\frac{1}{10}$).

Fig. 2. Spear-heads found at Rodborough, near Stroud, Gloucester ($\frac{3}{5}$).

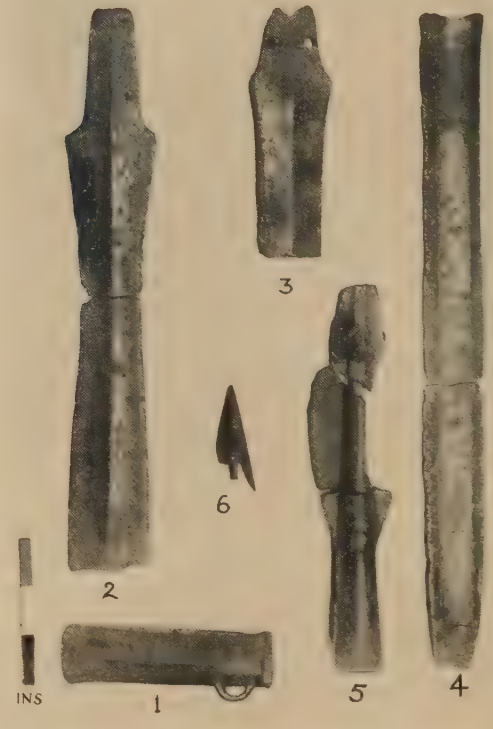


Fig. 3. Hoard found at Langrove, Gower ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Note on the Llynfawr Hoard.

As a result of Professor Gowland's examination it seems certain that the association of bronze with iron in the sickle is accidental. It may, however, be of interest to draw attention to some examples of the deliberate association of both metals in the same object. In a winged axe found in the cemetery of Hallstatt itself 'the upper part with the flanges is of bronze, and the lower part of the blade, of iron' (Evans, *Bronze*, p. 95). In the Milan Museum is a bronze-coated iron dagger from the chariot-burial of Sesto Calende at Golasecca. In the same grave was a large iron spear-head, a bronze helmet and greaves, two conical bronze buckets profusely ornamented in repoussé with men on horseback and with other figures in solemn procession, and pots of burnished black ware decorated with hatched triangles. The warriors on these buckets are armed with socketed axes and wear cheek-pieces rather suggestive of the discs from Llynfawr. The period of Benacci II at Bologna belongs almost to the Bronze Age, annular razors, palstaves, and other objects of bronze being very common. The Sesto Calende grave belongs to Benacci II which is dated by Déchelette 900–750 B. C. (Hallstatt I). Sir Martin Conway, however (*Proceedings*, xxxi, 162), says: 'No one at the present day would place the stage known as Benacci I (according to Déchelette 1000–900 B. C.) earlier than 800 or Benacci II before 700. Benacci I was scarcely Iron Age, and it was unlikely that the Bronze Age ended in Britain before that date.' Until the evidence for these radical suggestions is fully stated one cannot criticize them; but there are strong reasons for supposing that this dating will prove nearer the truth than the late M. Déchelette's. One of the strongest is the discovery made at All Cannings Cross in Wiltshire by Mr. and Mrs. Cunnington of typical 'late Bronze Age' finger-tip urns associated with La Tène I brooches and iron objects; proving that the 'late Bronze Age' culture (finger-tip urns, razors, many hoards, square camps) immediately preceded the period of La Tène. If this began about 500 B. C. in England, the Bronze Age must have lasted up to that date or very near it.

O. G. S. C.

II. The Langrove Hoard (pl. XII, fig. 3).

Details of the discovery of this hoard are unfortunately not obtainable; but there is no reason to suppose that the arrow-head or any of the other objects of which it consists were not found in association. Langrove is a hamlet in the parish of Penard in Gower, Glamorganshire. The hoard consists of the fragments of three swords, a socketed spear-head in three pieces,

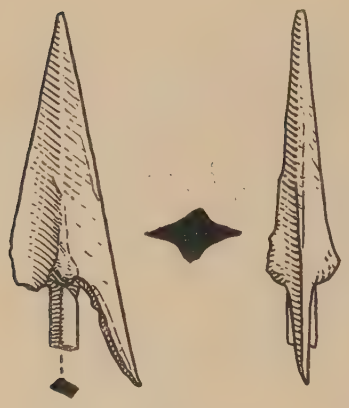


Fig. 3. Bronze arrow-head, Langrove hoard (½).

a socketed axe (perfect), and an arrow-head. The swords are remarkable in that the hilts of two of them lack the flanges and spreading tang usual on swords found in these islands. The celt has a squarish socket recalling those of Brittany; but it is doubtful whether it should be considered as having originated in that country. The face is not quite flat but slopes upwards on each side to a smooth median rib, which is not ornamental but part of the structure of the implement. The sides are straight. The arrow-head (fig. 3) is apparently unique in Great Britain, and bronze arrow-heads are very rare everywhere in north-west Europe. The hoard is now in the National Museum of Wales.

R. E. M. W.

III. The Brading Hoard (pl. X).

This hoard consists of a spear-head with loops in the lower end of the blade and eleven penannular rings. It was found in Brading Marsh, Isle of Wight, close to the hard ground on the west, and belongs to our Fellow Mr. J. H. Oglander. The number of hoards which have been found in the Isle of Wight, especially in the eastern part, is very remarkable, and points to a flourishing industrial community there in the Bronze Age. Brading Harbour was then doubtless an important port of call.

IV. The Monkswood Hoard (pl. XI).

This hoard was found in 1894 in making the reservoir at the head of the St. Catherine valley, north of Bath. It has been previously described by the late Rev. H. H. Winwood (*Proc. Bath Nat. Hist. and Ant. Field Club*, vol. viii, 1897, pp. 147-58). The discovery was made 'nearly due south of the present (Monkswood) reservoir, and just on the 366 feet contour line (*sic*) . . . whilst excavating the present conduit to carry off the water from the valley running down from the west. . . . About two or three feet below a tufaceous deposit of carbonate of lime . . . and near the foot of the slope, the workmen came across a *cache* of bronze implements and ornaments. Mr. Charles Gilby (the Assistant Engineer of the Waterworks) was fortunate enough to secure the greatest portion. Some portions, however, there is reason to believe, have found their way into Bath, under the impression that the metal was gold. This idea is strengthened by the fact that some of the torcs and bracelets have

been broken across, the bright fracture no doubt giving the impression that they were gold.' Mr. Gilby informed Mr. Winwood that a portion of a torc and of a broad band of bronze, probably an armlet, was brought to Mr. Callaway by one of the navvies. A detailed account of each of the objects is given in the earlier account. The hoard is at present exhibited in a case on the walls of the Pump Room at Bath, and is in the keeping of Mr. John Hatton, Director of the Hot Mineral Baths.[1]

Plate XI shows a selection of the objects.

V. The Portsmouth Hoard.

This is hardly a hoard in the strict sense, as it consists only of four solid rings and a palstave. They were, however, all found in association at Milton, near the Portsmouth Lunatic Asylum on the east side of Portsea Island. Two of the rings are perfect and are beautifully ornamented with engraved geometric patterns (fig. 4). They are much corroded and have

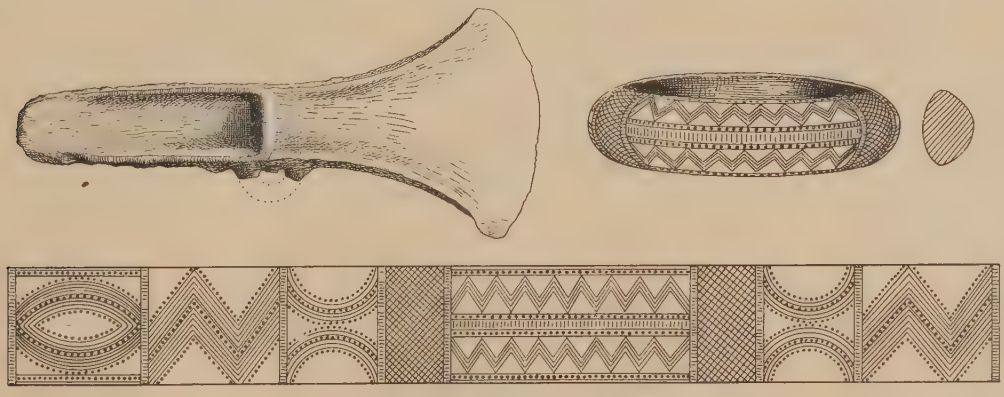


Fig. 4. Palstave and bronze ring found near Portsmouth ($\frac{1}{2}$).

a light green dusty patina. Two similar rings were found at Liss in Hampshire, about 18 miles north-north-east of Portsmouth, and have been figured (Evans, *Bronze*, p. 383, fig. 475). The Liss rings and an ornamented flanged celt, also from Liss, are in the British Museum. It is not known whether the flanged axe was found in association with the rings. Small 'hoards' of rings or torcs and one or two palstaves are fairly common and are probably personal property. Other examples have been found near Dorchester, Dorset (in the Museum there) and in Sussex.

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Hatton for his kindness in obtaining the consent of the Waterworks Committee to exhibit the hoard, and for practical assistance in its transport to London.

VI. Billericay Hoard.

This hoard, consisting of 9 socketed axes and fragments, some with vestigial wings, a spear-head, two gouges, and rough metal, was found in 1909 at Basildon Farm near Billericay, Essex, and is in the possession of Mr. C. H. Grinling of Woolwich.

VII. Two Spear-heads from Rodborough, near Stroud, Gloucestershire (pl. XII, fig. 2).

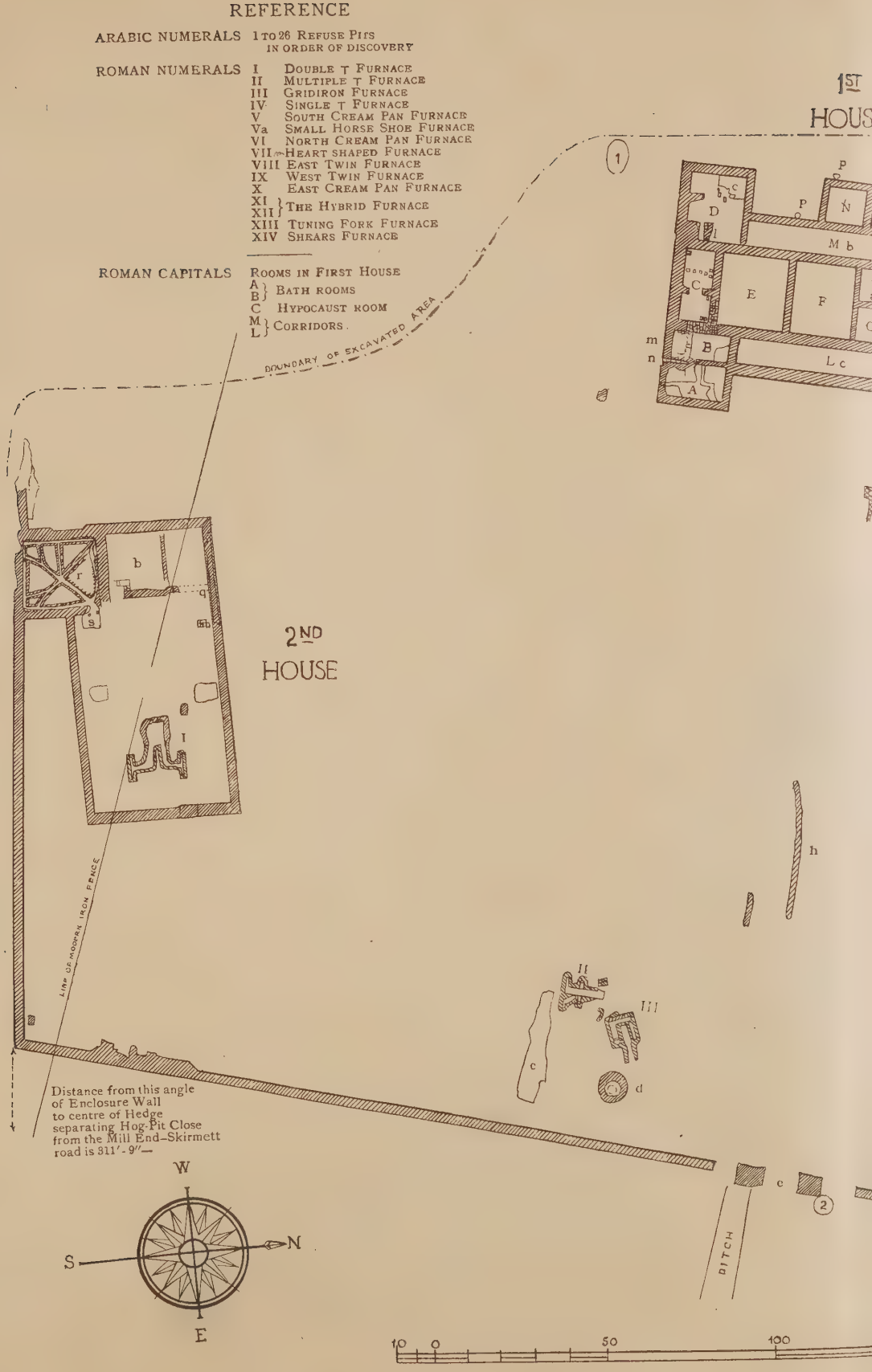
These spear-heads were found 'in a fringe of beechwood on the edge of the common' above Stroud, and are now in the possession of Major Fisher. They are of an early type and are excellent examples of an early stage in the evolution of the socketed spear-head. A short account of the discovery was contributed by Major Fisher's father to *Proc. Cotteswold Nat. Field Club*, vol. xiii, pp. 85-7.

VIII. Socketed Celt from Charnage Farm, near Mere, Wilts.

This celt was found about 200 yards north-east of Charnage Farm in laying a water-pipe. It is a fine and perfect example of the large, heavy type ornamented on the face with vertical ribs. A drawing of it is preserved in the Library of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society at Devizes. It belongs to Mr. A. R. White of Charnage Farm.

A Roman brooch, found on Charnage Down, is also in the possession of Mr. White.

O. G. S. C.


REFERENCE
ARABIC NUMERALS 1 to 26 Refuse Pits in order of discovery
ROMAN NUMERALS
I Double T Furnace
II Multiple T Furnace
III Gridiron Furnace
IV Single T Furnace
V South Cream Pan Furnace
Va Small Horse Shoe Furnace
VI North Cream Pan Furnace
VII Heart shaped Furnace
VIII East Twin Furnace
IX West Twin Furnace
X East Cream Pan Furnace
XI, XII The Hybrid Furnace
XIII Tuning Fork Furnace
XIV Shears Furnace
ROMAN CAPITALS Rooms in First House
A, B Bath rooms
C Hypocaust room
M, L Corridors.
BOUNDARY OF EXCAVATED AREA
1ST HOUS
2ND HOUSE
LINE OF MODERN IRON FENCE
Distance from this angle of Enclosure Wall to centre of Hedge separating Hog-Pit Close from the Mill End–Skirmett road is 311'-9"—
DITCH
W
S
N
E
10 0 50 100

PLAN OF THE ROMANO-

RITISH HOMESTEAD, AT HAMBLEDON, BUCKS.

VII.—*A Romano-British Homestead, in the Hambleden Valley, Bucks.* By Alfred Heneage Cocks, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 22nd March 1917.

The subject of this Report is one of several Romano-British sites in the Hambleden valley, about a mile south of the village of that name, not far from the south-west corner of the county of Buckingham. The finds lead to the inference that the homestead was built before the middle of the first century A. D., and occupied until the end of the fourth, the latest coins being dated 392–5. The southernmost extremity of the enclosure is barely 300 yards from the Thames at Hambleden Lock. The Oxford-London road, at a point a mile nearer Henley than Great Marlow, runs east and west, close to the Bucks. bank of the river, and a branch road turns off almost opposite the lock, and runs north to Hambleden, Skirmett, Turville, Watlington, etc. The homestead is in the western angle formed by these two roads, and is on the Greenlands estate of Viscount Hambleden, to whom not only I personally, but I think all antiquaries, owe much for his liberality in financing the protracted excavations, and in building the Museum to house the results.

Perhaps I may here express my heartiest thanks to Mr. and Mrs. E. Payton, and Miss Glassbrook, to whose zeal in bringing me a bag full of fragments of pottery and bones is due the eventual finding of the homestead, with all its consequences; and for all their help subsequently; to Mr. W. A. Forsyth, F.R.I.B.A., for the great amount of trouble he took with the Plan, and with the design for the Museum ; to Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S., for his Report on the human bones ; to Mr. E. T. Newton, F.R.S., for identifying the other bones ; and to many Fellows of this Society, among whom must be named: Professor W. Gowland, F.R.S., Col. J. B. P. Karslake, Mr. A. H. Lyell, Mr. T. May (for his account and drawings of the pottery), Mr. W. Page, Mr. J. Challenor C. Smith, Mr. Reginald A. Smith (for his Report on the brooches), Mr. Mill Stephenson (for cataloguing the coins, and constant help), and Mr. H. B. Walters. Lastly, but by no means least, to my two esteemed colleagues: Mr. A. G. K. Hayter, F.S.A., for the first part of the excavation, who subsequently gave me an immense amount of help ; and Dr. A. E. Peake during the second, and as it turned out, the longer part of the time. Both were most hard-working and painstaking colleagues, without whom I should have fared badly.

Further bearings for the homestead are as follows : its southern extremity is half a mile east of the south side of Greenlands House ; and it is only quite

a short distance north of the early seventeenth century Yewden Manor House, which has earlier and more interesting work in and around its back door.

The large arable field containing the greater part of the Roman site is known as Hog-pit Close. One hundred and fifty yards north of its south-east corner, adjoining the previously mentioned Hambleden road, is a gravel-pit, showing on its east and west faces a section of a V-shaped ditch, completely filled with Roman and Late Celtic débris (fig. 1). In its day the ditch flowed eastwards, evidently crossing the Hambleden road (which doubtless already existed, at least as a track) by a water-splash, and eventually turned a little south into the river.

Fig. 1. Section of ditch, in gravel pit. Looking E.

Adjoining the north side of the ditch must have been an unmetalled road, either branching off the Hambleden road at right angles, or possibly starting from a landing-place at the river-side, by the outfall of the ditch, where there is much broken and swampy ground. At any rate, on the west side of the Hambleden road the two ran westwards in juxtaposition for 86 yards, to a solidly built flint wall of the fourth century. The ditch began at the wall, but the road continued through the wall by an entrance gateway, wide enough to admit wheeled vehicles between its massive flint piers, and flanked on either side by a wicket. On the inner side of the wall, buildings of various descriptions cluster rather thickly (pl. XIII). I propose first to give a brief general sketch; then to give some details of the more interesting features; thirdly, to attempt a description of the curious furnaces met with; and lastly, to mention a few of the small finds (Appendix VII).

Close inside the walls, some way south of the entrance gates, is a wattle-and-daub shed, containing two furnaces and a well. A few yards farther west, but north of the entrance gates, is a large wattle-and-daub shed or hovel, or more probably a pair of semi-detached buildings, containing small furnaces, perhaps the work-people's quarters with domestic hearths.

About 77 yards west of the Enclosure Wall is the principal dwelling-house, and walking towards it we should perhaps find ourselves between the remains of

two short lengths of parallel walls, which seem as if intended to define the way to a conjectural back door near the SW. corner of the house, but as that would stop all direct access to the Well Shed and the second house, their purpose remains unexplained.

The Eastern Enclosure Wall (containing the entrance gates) runs north and south for a length of 123 yards, and then turns westwards at each end. The north wall is utilized as the back wall of a large flint-built barn or workshop, distinguished as the 3rd House. The Enclosure Wall continues 2 feet beyond the house until it meets Pit 24 and then ends abruptly.

Against the south wall of the 3rd House another fairly large wattle-and-daub workshop was built, known by us as The Mortar Floor, for, as was the case with all the wattle-and-daub sheds, the walls had entirely disappeared, leaving only a bare sufficiency of small fragments of daub with impressions of wattles to indicate their former existence, while the edges of the floors had been trodden or otherwise broken away to such an extent as to render the dimensions in some cases quite uncertain.

Touching the south-west corner of the 3rd House—like adjoining squares of the same colour on a chessboard—was the north-east corner of another flint-built workshop, The Annexe.

A few yards south-west, and almost equidistant between the Annexe and the principal or 1st House, is the Little House, or 4th House, flint-built, but measuring only about 22 ft. by 15 ft. outside, and comprising a single room, with tessellated floor; it was possibly a shrine (fig. 5). It had been rebuilt on the original foundations of the east and west walls, while the new north and south walls were built outside the old ones, so as to increase the area. A strip of floor of rammed chalk, some feet away to the east, looked as if it had originally been connected with the older building.

To the east, south, and south-west of the 1st House, the ground for some distance was unoccupied by buildings; and (except the contents of Pit 1, beginning 16 ft. 6 in. south of the south-west angle of the house) even small finds of any kind were quite scarce in those directions.

Towards the south the East Enclosure Wall as already mentioned, ultimately turned west, and some yards on the 2nd House, a large barn or workshop, stood a few feet inside it. Beyond this house the Enclosure Wall gradually died out, and came to an ill-defined end a few feet farther on. We dug on far enough to satisfy ourselves that it did not begin again, but otherwise the west sides of the 2nd and 1st Houses formed the boundary of the excavation in that direction. This was not a straight line, but as the former lay under permanent pasture we confined our digging to where we felt sure of foundations. Having regard to the elaborately strong Enclosure Wall along the eastern side, and its continuation

for a considerable distance along both north and south sides, it is curious that it should then cease. The most natural conjecture is that a wooden fence there took the place of the flint walls. There was nothing to indicate the original height of these flint walls, except at a few points in the 1st House, which are suggestive of a wooden superstructure (see p. 164).

In addition to the area already outlined, we had an extensive depository of small finds in a large yard on the north side of the 3rd House, probably the oldest part of the site. It must have been, during at least the later winters of its occupation, ankle-deep in filthy black mud. If this were a cattle-yard, the manure was obviously not regularly utilized, but it seemed more like the dirt resulting from some sort of factory. The yard was originally bounded on the north by a wall we called the North Wall of Yard, but this had been pulled down and most of the material removed during the Roman occupation, leaving only a very irregular and puzzling foundation. The remnant of another wall crossed it, which we called the North-West Wall as it was in that quarter of the excavation, but its direction was ENE.; a series of blocks of masonry started from near its south-west end, and ran nearly due north, too irregularly placed both as to line and distance apart to found any theory upon; and there were various other disconnected remains of works whose use had ceased during the time of occupation, and whose original forms and functions we failed to determine.

The 1st House (figs. 2–4).

The first, or principal dwelling-house, measures 96 ft. by 82 ft., and is shaped like a block-letter capital E, the bottom of the letter turned to the north, and consequently the open right side to west. The south or top stroke of the letter forms a row of four rooms; the north or bottom stroke forms three. These two groups are united, and the perpendicular portion of the letter is formed by long parallel corridors, between which is a string of four rooms, evidently the first-century nucleus of the house, eventually made into five, by dividing the third room from the south end by a N.–S. party-wall. One additional room projects centrally on the west side, forming the middle horizontal stroke of the letter. Mr. Forsyth ascertained that the floor-level slopes downwards 2 ft. from north to south.

The four south rooms show important alterations from the original plan, and are probably additions of the middle of the third century. The floors of all four were excavated nearly 3 ft. below the general floor-level of the house.

Rooms A and B were bath-rooms (pl. XIV, fig. 2). In the immediate proximity, chiefly outside the house, we picked up sundry small tesserae, and evidently one or both of these little rooms possessed a pavement of good quality. A curious zig-

Fig. 1. The W. Corridor, looking S. by W., showing Rooms N and D on right

Fig. 2. The Bath Rooms, A and B. At the back of B is the impression of leaden bath, and leaden waste-pipe *in situ*

Fig. 1. The 'Single T' Furnace

Fig. 2. The 'Double T' Furnace, in 2nd House, looking E.

zag construction at the north end of A, and some other remains there, are unexplained features, though they may have included a stokehole. A flue extends through the south wall of the room.

In the thickness of the wall dividing Rooms A and B is a well-made, tile-lined shoot, passing out through the south wall, falling 2 ft. 5 in. in a length of 10 ft. 4 in.; while on the wall another roofing tile (*tegula*) is laid at right angles so as to form the top course of the shoot. This may indicate a latrine, or that the rain-water from the roof fell on to this tile and down the shoot. The position of this tile is evidence that the flint wall (hereabouts at any rate) was never higher.

In Room B is another flue passing through the south wall. Inside, it traversed a brick-laid chamber (7 ft. 4 in. E.–W. by 2 ft. 9 in. S.–N.). The chamber was at a later date filled with concrete, and a platform formed at about floor-level, the same size as the chamber it covered. There was a leaden pipe through the south wall above the flue, and a bath, evidently also of lead, of which the impression remained, was fitted on this platform and warmed by the flue below, and the waste water escaped by the pipe.

The third room, C, was originally provided with a hypocaust, but at a later date this was destroyed, and the floor raised to the common level by importing soil, in which were fragments of an adult human skull. A few single courses of tiles remained *in situ* from the hypocaust pillars, and signs of fire were abundant all round the room. The flue entered here from the stoke-hole near the south-east corner of Room D. A short wall in that room, projecting inwards from the south, forms a recess, suggestive of a receptacle for fuel.

The western corridor (pl. XIV, fig. 1) has a pavement of brick tesserae still practically perfect, while the eastern has none. The level of the latter, however, was about an inch higher than the former, so may have been stripped clean by ploughs. The exterior wall on the east side consists of a second wall added outside the original one, which perhaps showed signs of giving way, or may have let the damp through.

Besides the western corridor, Rooms J, P, and O had tessellated floors.[1] H had a concrete floor, added when the cross wall was built dividing it from G.[2] Under it we found some little bone carvings (see p. 196). Like the four rooms at the south end, the three at the north end were also additions to the original plan—first K, and then the corner rooms O and P.

The positions of the doors were for the most part unrecognizable; but the approximate position of that of Room E was perceptible, as, between 3 ft. 1 in.

[1] Thousands of loose brick tesserae scattered about, chiefly to the south and east, show that at least one other room was tessellated, but that ploughs had reached it.

[2] See above, p. 144.

← South. Fig. 2. The 1st House. Rooms A, B, C, D, E, and part of E. corridor.

Fig. 3. The 1st House. Rooms J, K, P, O, and end of E. corridor. North →

Fig. 4. The 1st House, looking W. Rooms F, N, G, H, and parts of both corridors.

Fig. 5. The Little House, looking *c.* NW.

and 4 ft. 8 in. from the south end of the west corridor, a track was worn in the tesserae (a few even being absent), leading out of the room at its centre, and turning up the corridor it narrows out and is shortly lost. A few pieces of brick projecting both outwards and inwards, from the middle of the outer wall of Room K, suggest the front door of the house, but we cannot claim it as a certainty. There is also a very reasonable probability that the position of Pit 1 shows there was a back door opposite it in the south or west wall of Room D, but there was no indication of one.

Numerous fragments of wall plaster from the interior of the house were found, most of which are maroon red, varying considerably in shade; other fragments are either yellow, from bright orange to quite light stone-colour, or pure white. Some of the maroon pieces show a later coat of white, which has scaled or washed off, very possibly since they were buried, and now the pieces are again maroon with small spots or slight drags of white here and there. One solitary fragment is light lead-colour. Sage green is used alternating with white in stripes, but not, so far as the fragments show, as a body colour.

The 2nd House.

On the inner side of the South Enclosure Wall (beginning 63 ft. 3 in. from the east angle) is the 2nd House, a large workshop or barn (88 ft. 1 in. long by 45 ft. 1 in. wide). At its eastern end it is six yards from the Enclosure Wall, and about half that distance at its western end. It seems to date from the latter part of the first century. Probably early in the fourth century the west end of this building was converted into a cottage. A section $25\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide externally was divided off by the insertion of a N.–S. wall; the south wall of the barn for this width was extended to incorporate that length of the South Enclosure Wall, and the area thus bounded was divided transversely into three: the southern portion was provided with a hypocaust of the union-jack type (pl. XVIII, fig. 2); the central third was adorned with a plain pavement of brick tesserae; while the rather narrower division at the north seems to have served the various purposes of a back yard, but under a roof. Near the east end of this House was the curious Double-T Furnace described on p. 152.

Close under the north side of the wall dividing the tessellated room from this little yard, we found, placed on its side (as the recess would not admit it upright), a small, dark pot (fig. 16, no. 163) containing a hoard of 294 coins, hidden, as ascertained by Mr. M. Stephenson from the coins, between A.D. 317 and 326. An ivory pin lying close to the mouth of the pot seemed to indicate that a cloth had been pinned over it before it was laid on its side, but it having eventually decayed, some of the coins slid out, as we found them. It lay 15 ft. from the west corner, south of the north wall of the house, about 2 ft. north of the existing

iron fence. It was buried below the floor, and covered with two or three pieces of tile and brickbats, 16 in. below the present surface; the mouth of the pot faced south-west.

The 3rd House.

As previously mentioned, the North Enclosure Wall was utilized for the north wall of this large workshop or barn.[1] It started 95 ft. 1 in. from the east angle of the Enclosure Wall, and was 85 ft. 2 in. long by 40 ft. 5 in. wide. Its south wall was the best bit of building met with, and was probably not the original one. A great part of the area of the house was occupied by two pairs of very large furnaces. In the north-east corner was an obvious water-tank formed of clay, 6 ft. 3 in. long N. to S., 4 ft. wide E. to W.[2] On the north side was a large amount of charcoal, ashes, soot, with numerous roofing tiles (*tegulae* and *imbrices*) and nails, indicating that the roof, if not the entire house, had been destroyed by fire.

Remains of floors formed of flints, at varying levels, were distributed about this building, suggesting that the area had been subdivided by wooden partitions, and the floor of each small workshop or compartment formed without reference to the adjoining sections. A small block of concrete flooring, just outside the middle of the west wall, seems to indicate the position of a door. In a few instances pits are suggestive of the proximity of doors.

Outside the house, in the angle between its east wall and the North Enclosure Wall, was a flint floor about 12 ft. square, evidently of a small shed, level with the present top of the Enclosure Wall. About 9 in. below it was a gravel floor (gradually dying out at about 30 ft. square), perhaps indicating a previous and larger shed. Under it in turn was a pit, chiefly filled with heavy building material—tons of large flints, and many roofing and other tiles, some with mortar adhering, but only a trifling amount of pottery fragments, with one complete porringer, the date of which, however, is unfortunately doubtful. Mr. T. May, in *Silchester Pottery* (p. 161, type 201, pl. lxvi), describes a very similar example: 'The comparative results so far obtained are not very definite for determining the date.' So unprofitable seemed the work at this pit that it appeared at last doubtful whether it were worth continuing, but luckily I decided it would be a mistake to leave anything unfinished; and eventually, at 14 ft. depth, just below the water-level at that time (June), skeletons of three adult persons and of two children were found together. As the bones had to be felt for, under water, it was impossible to say much about the positions,

[1] The 2nd and 3rd Houses presumably both come under the designation *nubilaria*.

[2] Further details of this clay water-tank are as follows: 1 ft. from north wall of house; 1 ft. 10 in. from east wall; west side 2 ft. thick; south end probably 1 ft. thick; bottom 6 in. thick, 1 ft. 5 in. deep, or 3 ft. 11 in. from existing top of wall.

except that they were all more or less in contact. The people, whether dead or alive, had evidently been thrown in without ceremony, and tons of heavy material heaped on them. According to such imperfect evidence as the few pottery scraps afford, these burials probably date late in the second or in the first half of the third century, but the upper floor was not laid until towards the end of the third century, or at any rate not earlier than A. D. 250. In the attempts at dating I have had kind assistance from Mr. Reginald Smith, Mr. Walters, and Mr. May, but they each saw only some of the fragments. The only coin found at this spot is a second brass, identified by Mr. Stephenson as probably of Faustina II, who died A. D. 175, or possibly of Lucilla, who was killed *c.* 183; as it was only 20 in. deep, it may have been long out of date when dropped. Sir Arthur Keith has kindly reported on the bones (Appendix II).

Besides the five skeletons in Pit 6, an occasional fragment of skull or other human bone showed that soil had been brought from elsewhere for levelling purposes. These included five fragments of adult skull, east of centre of Room C, 1st House; one in the stoke-hole of the hypocaust in the 2nd House; one in the V ditch; one in Pit 13; a portion of an adult maxilla in which two teeth remained, and one pedal phalange, 3 ft. SE. of the Tuning-fork furnace. An ulna and radius of a child were recovered from the north face of the gravel-pit, that is, buried between the ditch and road; the skeleton had evidently been cut away with the gravel, excepting only these two bones as they lay farthest from the pit-face. Sir Arthur Keith has confirmed my identification of them (being undeveloped, they are rather more difficult to identify than adult bones) to the child's left side; consequently it was buried with feet towards the east.

The imperfect remains of one badly baked black cinerary urn, containing very thoroughly burnt bones, was found 2 ft. 2 in. below a layer of gravel, perhaps a road or path, 75 ft. E. by N. of the north-east angle of the Enclosure Wall.

A remarkable feature of this excavation was that the ground, roughly speaking throughout the northern half, was positively littered with babies. They number 97 and most of them are newly born, but an occasional one is rather older. A few were laid at length, but the majority were evidently carried and buried wrapped in a cloth or garment, huddled in a little bundle, so that the head was almost central, and the knees above it; usually, therefore, the whole of the scanty remains came away in one spit. As nothing marked the position of these tiny graves, a second little corpse was sometimes deposited on one already in occupation of a spot, apparently showing that these interments took place secretly, after dark. The majority of the babies lay in the yard, north of the 3rd House, while one was in Pit 1 (by the 1st House) and one in the tiny yard belonging to the cottage formed out of the 2nd House.

The Furnaces.

Accidentally (and luckily) we met with the furnaces very nearly in ascending sequence—from the simplest form onwards—and they may be described much in the same order.

The walls were nearly a yard high, and were built below ground-level, so that the floor just protruded above the surface. All were composed of lumps of chalk interspersed with flints, and, except where otherwise stated, the chalk was in rough unshaped blocks (i. e. rubble, not ashlar). They were covered with a coat of rammed chalk, forming at the top a floor at or about the ground-level. For simplicity of identification, and as a *memoria technica* of their shapes, each furnace was called by a name (instead of a number), derived from whatever object its shape represented.

First came The Single T (pl. XV, fig. 1), beginning 27 ft. 11 in. east of the east corridor of the 1st House, 18 ft. 9 in. E. by S. from the south-east angle of Room O. The lower extremity of the letter formed the stoke-hole, the length of the stem produced the required draught, and each end of the top cross-stroke was built higher to form a flue. The whole was roughly arched over, and rammed chalk was laid so as to form a slightly convex floor or top.

With the possible exception of this first example, the furnaces were built under cover; in the 2nd and 3rd Houses inside solidly built barns with tiled roofs, and in other cases under more or less substantial wattle-and-daub sheds, of which the roofs were perhaps thatched. The excavation at the stoke-hole end had to be large enough for the attendant to work in, and to contain the raked-out ashes and a supply of fresh fuel.

The Single T Furnace contained a quantity of white wood-ash, and half a lower quern-stone; in the stoke-hole were fragments forming a complete terra sigillata dish of Drag. form 36 (fig. 8, no. 52), which had been broken and mended by riveting; but the rivets had decayed and the pieces were again separate, and further broken, perhaps at the moment of filling in, for it is evident that the stoke-hole was filled in directly the basin was put there. It seems obvious that all the furnaces that we found in working order must have been deliberately filled in, and could not have been left exposed, or they must very soonhave crumbled. If the sheds were demolished (by fire or otherwise) the débris of roof, etc., would effectually bury and preserve the furnaces.[1]

The T shape was the fundamental principle of most of the furnaces, but in all other cases it was variously elaborated.

[1] I am indebted to Messrs. Stephenson and Hayter for a reference to a furnace of this type at Silchester, block 3, Insula xxxiii (*Arch.*, lix, 336, fig. 1), which was somewhat larger than the present example, except the width of the top portion, which was less. Other examples are at Caerwent.

The Double T (pl. XV, fig. 2) was by far the oddest of the furnaces in appearance. It was built at the eastern end of the 2nd House, and consisted of a large, somewhat asymmetrical, bulbous body, about 20 ft. long from E. to W., without reckoning the upper ends of two pairs of T-tops which inclined right and left out of each other's way. There was no break in the wall for the stoke-hole, but it was continuous all round at a uniform height. The opening was in the floor above, and the attendant had to get inside to remove ashes. It contained a large quantity of white wood-ash. A few feet north of the stoke-hole was a small platform of concrete about 2 ft. square, which probably had no connexion with the furnace, but was perhaps the foundation for a wooden stanchion supporting the roof.

The greater part of the area of the 3rd House was occupied by two pairs of important furnaces. They were Multiple T's with certain variations in the four, but each possessing one or two T-tops.

Each pair was built left and right of a central wall common to both, so that each pair may be described as consisting of a left- and right-handed furnace. The passage from the left stoke-hole of the western pair curved a little outwards, so as to open centrally into a rectangular chamber containing two solid piers to support the floor above, the two T's being at right angles to this passage, i. e. forming the north and south boundaries; the top of the right-hand T was bounded by the common wall, and the piers just mentioned divided the stems of the letters lengthwise, so as to convert the T's into Greek capital Π's.

The right-hand furnace had only a single T-top, turned to the north, and again a solid pier converted the T into a Π.

The eastern pair of furnaces (pl. XVII, fig. 2) each contained two T's or Π's, the plan (allowing for one being right-handed) being the same as the left furnace of the western pair, and differing only in slight details.

The three furnaces of similar plan each had a recess for a fifth flue, in the wall farthest from the stoke-hole, intermediate between those forming that end of the T-tops. Each of these four furnaces was complete in itself, and could be used independently of either of the other three.

The rammed chalk floors above each pair of furnaces were of considerable size, 18 ft. or more long by 10 ft. to 12 ft. wide, without including the projections from the stoke-holes. In the charred walls of the stoke-holes, and among the adjacent ashes, Mr. Bushe-Fox discovered grains of wheat and barley, and we ultimately obtained quite a quantity.

Our Fellow, Professor W. Gowland, who visited the excavations more than once, kindly supplied a report (p. 158), on the use of these furnaces, and on the large amount of slag or dross lying scattered over the site. Here it may be shortly stated that he is of opinion that the larger furnaces, having floors above them, were used for drying corn, as the Romans, mistrusting the climate, not

Fig. 1. The 'Tuning-fork' Furnace, looking E. ½ S.

Fig. 2. The 'Gridiron' Furnace, showing Well

Fig. 1. The N. 'Cream-pan' Furnace

Fig. 2. The E. pair of Furnaces (VIII on Plan) in 3rd House, looking N. ½ E.

only of this country, but even of Italy, used to cut the corn before it was fully ripe, and finish by drying on heated floors. He adds quite a long list of references to classical authors alluding to the practice.

The amount of corn we found adhering to the stoke-hole walls is almost proof of the practice here. With regard to the large quantity of iron slag or dross, scattered widely about, but centring in the 3rd House, Professor Gowland expressed his decided opinion that none of the chalk-built furnaces could stand the high temperature requisite for smelting iron.

I have little doubt, however, that some of the many small articles of bronze which we recovered were cast on the spot: not only are there numerous pieces of 'pot metal', but there is a broken crucible containing this metal.

At a distance of 32 ft. 4 in. north of the 3rd House is the centre of Pit 8, shaped like a bottle, its diameter below being considerably extended beyond that at its mouth and neck. None of the other pits was so shaped, and a granary is suggested, but I cannot imagine that it would be dry enough for storing grain or anything else, and the extension may merely be due to good building-flints having been met with. At 10 ft. 11 in. N. by E. from the centre of this pit begins the Tuning-fork Furnace (pl. XVI, fig. 1). Starting from the stoke-hole runs a straight stem or passage, presently dividing right and left into two passages at right angles to the original direction. These turn inwards again shortly at right angles, so as to be parallel to the original passage and to each other, and terminate at each free end in a single flue (not a T-topped pair). The wall was continuous round the stoke-hole, but its height was about half that of the remainder, and it was lined with clay up to the top, and to about a foot short of the passage. Steps led down to it from the ground-level.

A remarkable triplet of furnaces forming the Hybrid Furnace existed far east in the yard, comprising a pair of Single-T Furnaces, divided by a common wall (as before); and the stems bent outwards so that the T-tops were clear of each other; the stoke-holes opening to the north were unwalled. Packed close in to the top of the right-hand furnace of the pair was a furnace of tuning-fork type, with walled stoke-hole opening to the west. The three were probably built simultaneously, in order to make as square a drying-floor as might be.

The Well-Shed contained, besides the well and a narrow floor of rammed chalk, two furnaces of very distinct types (pl. XVIII, fig. 1). The group occupied three sides of a hollow square, or, very roughly, the form of a capital U, while the central space consisted of an unturned bed of hard gravel.

The furnace at the base of the group is, for more than one reason, a specially interesting one. It was of single-T type, with important additions. Half-way along the stem on each side was a transverse projection, making a resemblance to two capital F's, placed back to back (= ꟻF); and from the left (east) side of

the stem another passage opened immediately south of the projection, and ran diagonally to the south end of the T-top, the line of the main passage being continued by a very neatly built triangular or wedge-shaped block of wall.

The extra pair of transverse passages were additional flues, still quite perfect, with dampers formed of *tegulae* still in position.

Another interesting feature was that the upper part farthest from the stoke-hole end was built of accurately squared blocks of chalk (ashlar), with a flint here and there as usual, laid very carefully in courses. It was by far the neatest and best workmanship we met with. The stoke-hole end was defined by a low wall, and there were steps leading down to it from the ground-level.

Closely adjoining towards the north-east was the Gridiron Furnace (pl. XVI, fig. 2). Its outline much resembled that of the Tuning-fork, but the interior arrangements were totally different. From an open stoke-hole end ran parallel walls, which continued straight up the body of the furnace, and turned at right angles so as to form an end wall, and outside these was an outer wall on each side similar to the tuning-fork form, also returned round the end. The space between the two walls was divided by a cross partition, in two places, not symmetrical with each other, and the inner wall had three window-like openings, one to each of the resulting compartments, to permit of the circulation of the hot air.

These two furnaces were probably the latest of the series, embodying all the most recent developments of their respective types, and built to afford a trial of efficiency rather than for different purposes.

The strip of rammed flooring (already mentioned), 39 ft. 9 in. in length, formed the right stroke of the letter U, the first of the two furnaces formed the base of the letter, and the second furnace, with the well immediately east of it, formed the left stroke.

The Shears Furnace consisted of an incomplete circle, with straight walls (or 'blades') attached to each end, and running nearly parallel to each other. The stoke-hole was at the free, outer end. It was a small and unimportant furnace, and may perhaps have been merely used for cooking. It was situated 90 ft. to the west of the 3rd House; 11 ft. 7 in. south of its north wall; extreme length 7 ft.; width (at circle) 3 ft. 4 in.

The Heart Furnace, so called from its shape, close to and south of the Annexe, was a very small affair, and the only opening, if it had a cover when in use, was so narrow that (unless a stone had imperceptibly slipped) no one could have inserted a hand, and the process of stoking must have been difficult.

Three small furnaces were of quite different patterns, but shared one peculiarity, from which they were respectively called the North, South, and East Cream-pan Furnaces.

Fig. 1. 'T' type Furnace in Well-Shed

Fig. 2. 'Union-jack' Hypocaust in 2nd House, looking E.

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The first two were in the long chalk floor of the large wattle-and-daub building south-east of the 3rd House.

The North Furnace (pl. XVII, fig. 1) had consisted of a pair of straight passages divided by a common wall, the stoke-holes at the south end being open, and the other ends rounded off into two apse-like semicircles. The west wall, which appeared to be complete, had a total length of 7 ft. 3 in. The enclosed spaces were burnt quite red; there was no trace of a covering floor. Close outside the west wall a pan of rough black pottery, closely resembling in size and shape a modern cream-pan, was embedded in the floor in mortar, suggesting that either the fires were damped at intervals with a little water, or, from the water vessel being a fixture, more likely that iron tools, or articles manufactured there, were 'quenched' by immersion.

South of the division [1] across the floor of this shed was another furnace. This one was largely formed of brickbats and pieces of tile, and had the form of a simple trench, the stoke-hole being at the west end. So far as I can judge by a text-figure from a photograph, this example appears to resemble somewhat a 'long hearth' at Silchester, Insula xxxv, figured in *Archaeologia*, lxi, 208, fig. 4. The present example was provided with a 'cream-pan' bedded in mortar, about a foot from its south side.

Opposite this furnace, on the east side of the floor, was a quite small one, originally horseshoe shaped, and only measuring 4 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 4 in. It was probably merely a domestic hearth.

Quite away from all the clustered buildings within the Enclosure Wall was a succession of remains of constructions outside it to the north-east, 54 ft. east of the nearest point of the Hybrid Furnace, which buildings had apparently ceased to be in use some years before the main group. Coins found thereabouts range from Domitian to Constantius II (died 361).

The remains included vestiges of a wall, probably of a building, and of the East Cream-pan Furnace 5 ft. long, and probably always small though the shape was unrecognizable; about a couple of feet south of it were the remains of a mortar-bedded Cream-pan.

The three Cream-pans were naturally, from the inferior quality of the coarse ware, in fragments, but when bestowing the name on them I supposed them to have been very much the shape of that modern vessel. It was a surprise, therefore, when I came to begin reconstruction, to find that they were long fragments or strips of large *ollae*, which had been roughly fitted to one another, and laid in saucer-like shapes, and rendered water-tight by the mortar bedding. One of them included pieces of four or five vessels.

[1] I took this to be the impression of a tree trunk which had formed the bottom frame of a wattle-and-daub wall, dividing the house into two compartments.

Besides the buildings above enumerated, and the unexplained remnants of walls, there were many other remains of masonry, small isolated blocks suggesting no original form or function, e. g. those near both ends of the East Enclosure Wall. In many cases these could only be called 'dabs' of masonry, consisting of half a dozen flints or even less, and formed with the help of a little mortar into the likeness of mole-hills. If even three of these had been fairly equidistant in line, we should have accepted them as indicating a wall; or if four had enclosed a rectangle, we should have conceded a house, but in the absence of any apparent shape or connexion with each other, we could only note them as 'have-beens'.

There were two remnants a little more definite than the others: the remains of an obvious wall running west from the south-west corner of the Annexe, its course interrupted by Pit 12; and, at the northernmost point that the excavation reached, was 'The Quern Hole', so called from containing a quantity of quern stones. This was perhaps the remains of the floor of a workshop sunk well below the natural level of the ground.

Close inside the south-east angle of the Enclosure Wall was a large block of stucco, 2 ft. 11 in. long, 2 ft. wide, which suggested the pedestal of a statue. It was 4 ft. 9 in. from the eastern wall, and 10 in. from the south wall; about 10 in. high.

Outside the south and west sides of Room N of the 1st House were two large stucco bowls about 2 ft. in diameter outside, reminding one of fonts; whether they were drinking-troughs for horses, or ornamental water-bowls, was not obvious.

Pit 7, probably dating from the beginning of the fourth century, under the east angle of the Enclosure Wall, was older than the wall, as foundations were carried across the pit.

The long, narrow strips of rammed chalk east of the Little House, and south of the well group, are, I presume, floors. The large, shapeless, but smooth-surfaced, agglomeration of flints outside the NW. corner of the 1st House was perhaps débris from some building that had been pulled down.

Dispersed over the area investigated were twenty-six refuse pits (besides three or four quite shallow ones, not included). They differed very greatly in size and depth, some being very large; in a few cases they suggested the approximate positions of doors in the houses. Taking the period of occupation of the site at about 360 years,[1] we get an average of almost fourteen years for each

[1] Beginning rather before A. D. 50, and ending about 410. Three occasions or periods of disturbance may be faintly hinted at by this site: first, a gap in the series of coins, between the death of Septimius Severus, A. D. 211, and early in the reign of Gallienus, A. D. 253. This includes the probable date of burial of five persons in Pit 6 (p. 149) who, however, may have been merely victims

to be in use ; but from finding several instances of pieces of the same pot lying in two or even three pits, it is evident that sometimes more than one pit was in use simultaneously; and from this circumstance, together with a rather wide range of date in the contents, it would appear that some of them must have been lying open and in use for a considerable number of years. For example: numerous fragments of a very handsome terra sigillata bowl of Drag. form 37, came from Pits 9, 11, and 16. In two other cases Pits 11 and 16 yielded fragments of the same pot ; there is another case from 9 and 16; two cases from 16 and 5; while Pit 9 shows a connexion with Pit 20; and Pit 11 with 24. The inference is that Pits 5, 9, 11, 16, 20, and 24 were all open simultaneously.

of an epidemic, and not necessarily of any violence. Secondly, the apparent throwing away into Pit 3 of unbroken, expensive, and beautiful sigillata bowls of Drag. forms 43, 45 (two), 31, etc., at about the end of the third century. This may have taken place before the end of the gap in the coins. Thirdly, the hiding in the 2nd House of 294 coins between the years 317–26.

APPENDIX I

THE FURNACES. By Professor W. Gowland, F.R.S., F.S.A.

I have carefully considered the arrangements and construction of the large furnaces or system of flues in the excavations at Hambleden, and have come to the following conclusions.

The flues show no signs whatever of having been exposed to temperatures much, if at all, higher than those of a hypocaust. Had they been so exposed, the lumps of chalk which occur in their side walls would have been converted into lime, and the walls would have been destroyed. The furnaces cannot, therefore, have been used for any metallurgical operation.

In my opinion, they are the flues of drying-floors which have been used for drying harvested grain, and the specimens of barley and wheat found in all probability represent the grain which was being dried.

That this practice was followed by the Romans is supported by the authorities given below from the article 'Agriculture' in Dr. W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.[1]

Reaping (*messio*): The corn was reaped as soon as it had acquired a uniform yellow tint, without waiting until it had become dead-ripe, in order to avoid the loss sustained by shaking, and by the ravages of animals. The necessity of pursuing this course with regard to barley is especially insisted upon; but is quite at variance with modern practice (Colum. ii, 9).

Thrashing (*tritura*): Attached to the area was a huge shed or half-enclosed barn (*nubilarium*) of sufficient dimensions to contain the whole crop. Here the corn was dried in unfavourable seasons before being thrashed, and hither it was hurriedly conveyed for shelter when the harvest work was interrupted by any sudden storm.

In Pliny, *H. N.*, Book xviii, there are also several allusions to parching grain before grinding, and parching by fire is mentioned.

A large quantity of so-called slag was met with, which may be divided into two classes:

(*a*) A light-coloured and more or less vesicular material. This is not a true slag but merely 'clinker', or fused ashes, which is of common occurrence in the fire-holes of ordinary hypocausts.

(*b*) A ferruginous slag, heavy and dark brown, containing varying proportions of iron. This has not been produced in the smelting of iron ore, but has been obtained in the working up of the 'blooms' or lumps of crude wrought iron from an ore-smelting furnace into implements, etc.

No remains of the furnace in which the ferruginous slag was produced were found in the excavations.

[1] Homer, *Iliad*, xiii, 588; xx, 495; xxi, 77; Cato, *Scriptores De re rustica*, 91, 129; Varro, *De re rustica*, i, 13, 51, 52; Columella, *De re rustica*, i, 6; ii, 9, 19; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, xiii, 29, 30, etc.; Virgil, *Georgics* i, 178; Palladius, *De re rustica*, i, 36; viii, 1.

APPENDIX II

REPORT ON THE HUMAN REMAINS. By Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S.

Any one who seeks at the present time to answer the question: To what extent were the racial elements in the population of Britain changed during the four centuries of the Roman occupation? comes face to face with a series of considerable but not insurmountable difficulties. These difficulties can be aptly illustrated by a consideration of the human remains discovered by Mr. Cocks in Pit 6. There he found the complete skeletons—or what had been complete skeletons—of two men (A, B) and of one woman (C) besides two children—one of fifteen months, the other of five or six years. It is not necessary to mention at this point the other human fragments[1] or the remains of scores of babies[2]—these concern the domestic life of the villa rather than the larger racial problem of Britain. The men found in the pit were strongly made fellows in the prime of life—about thirty years of age, and both about the same height—5 ft. 6 in. or 5 ft. 7 in. (1,668–1,675 mm.); A had a cranial capacity of 1,470 c.c.—almost the average for modern Britons, while B had a capacity of 1,540 c.c.—being thus somewhat above the modern average for males. Both of them were long-headed (dolichocephalic) men; the actual measurements may be seen from the appended table. In shape and in absolute as well as relative dimensions of their heads both reproduce the cranial features which anthropologists, these seventy years past, have regarded as characteristic of men found in the Roman graves of Britain.[3] The forehead is steep or moderately steep, with its upper part, which carries the frontal bosses, marked off from the lower or supra-orbital part by a transverse depression or groove—as may be seen from the drawings (fig. 6). The forehead appears wide because not only the frontal part, but the whole roof of the skull tends to be low and flat; consequently the forehead appears as if expanded laterally with full temples. The sides of the skull are full and somewhat convex; the occiput is projecting; the roof, as above mentioned, is depressed and rather flat. As will be seen from the measurements, the face was short in relationship to the width; the chin forms a narrow and projecting knob. Further, the limb bones of these two men show nothing of the flattening which is so often present in the thigh and leg bones of the British men of the Neolithic and Bronze Periods; they are strongly moulded and shaped as in modern man. The head of the woman exhibits corresponding characters; she was small-headed—her cranial capacity being estimated as 1,180 c.c.—over 100 c.c. below the average for modern British women—although modern women with an equally small cranial capacity are quite common.

The vertical views are those seen when the skulls are orientated on the Frankfurt plane.

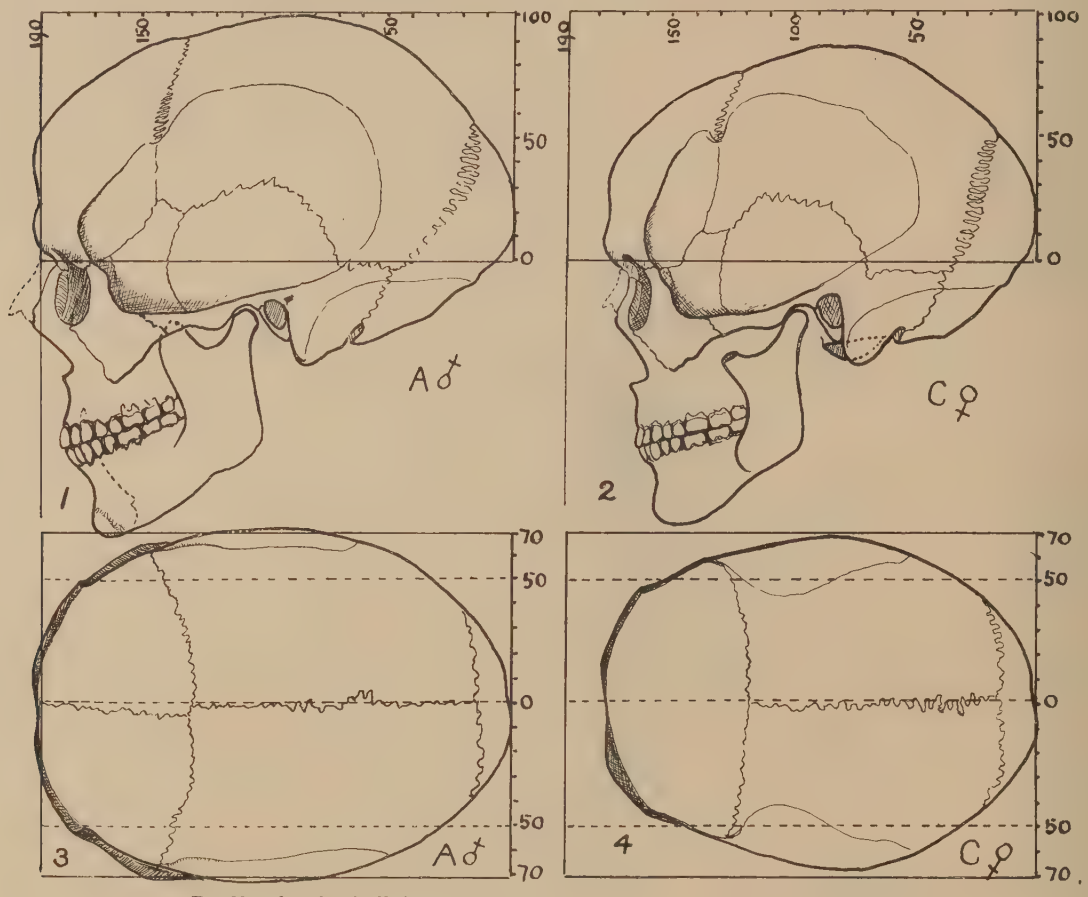
We may presume, from the data supplied to us by Mr. Cocks, that this small group of individuals died and was buried at Hambleden somewhere about the second half of the second century or even as late as the opening half of the third century. The manner of their death we cannot guess, for their bones show no marks of violence. In all three the bones are stout, with impressions which indicate muscular strength; the bones of the fingers and hand are thick as if all three had been accustomed to manual toil. We may presume they lived in the district, and were attached to the villa—probably as labourers.

We now come to our first difficulty: Did people of this racial type appear in Britain for the first time during the Roman period of invasion and occupation? If we knew accurately the kind of men buried in British graves during the centuries which precede the Roman invasion, a definite answer could be returned, but our knowledge of the pre-Roman British is

[1] See p. 150. [2] See p. 150.

[3] I think Rolleston has given the fullest analysis of the Romano-British type of skull. See *Scientific Papers and Addresses of George Rolleston, M.D., F.R.S.*, edited by Wm. Turner and Edward Tylor, 2 vols., 1884.

particularly meagre—at least outside the borders of Yorkshire. Rolleston was of opinion that the racial type of man and woman unearthed by Mr. Cocks at Hambleden was already in England—at least the southern areas of England—before the Romans arrived; and I think—on the scanty evidence at present available—that may well have been the case. In Holland and in the Flemish parts of Belgium there are, at the present time, many individuals who possess long, wide, rather flat-roofed heads, not unlike those we attribute to the Romano-



1. Profile of male skull A.
2. Profile of female skull C.
3. Vertical view of skull A.
4. Vertical view of skull C.

Fig. 6. Skulls from Hambleden.

British. We can recognize the same type amongst the ancient inhabitants of Italy. If the invasion of England—usually described as the 'Late Celtic'—did involve an intrusion of continental peoples living on the eastern shores of the Straits of Dover, then it is highly probable that the type of man and woman we find in British graves of the Roman period had been making their way into England before the Christian Era dawned; and hence our task of estimating the extent to which that type was introduced by the Romans is rendered more difficult. The first necessity for its solution is a fuller knowledge of the people found in British graves of a pre-Roman date.

Our real difficulty is a much greater one. Western Europe, from Norway and Sweden in the North, to Italy and Spain in the South, has been occupied for many thousands of years by

long-headed races—exhibiting long-headedness in many degrees and forms. Early in the Neolithic Period—perhaps before that period began—the intrusion of the round-headed races into Western Europe, filling the central parts and flowing into France and North Italy, separated the long-headed races into Northern and Southern groups. It is almost entirely with the long-headed races that the British anthropologist has to deal—at every period of our past history, save during the Bronze Period when the round-heads crossed the North Sea—apparently for the first time. So distinctive are the typical men of the round barrows that any one, with the most limited knowledge of skulls, can recognize them at a glance. It is otherwise with the long-heads; every race has its prevailing form, but every race has also its numerous modifications, variations, and similarities. The men of the long barrows, the Romano-Briton, the Anglo-Saxon and Frank, the Ancient Scot, Irishman, Welshman, Englishman, Norwegian, Dane, and Dutchman all presented varying degrees of long-headedness—were, indeed, very probably mere modifications of a single stock and type. Our great difficulty is that nearly all the invading races of Britain have been drawn from this same long-headed stock, the invaders, in most cases, being not very unlike—in a physical sense—the races which were native to Britain when these invasions were made.

The casual reader may be led to infer, from what I have said, that I regard anthropological methods as bankrupt—that a study of human remains will never reveal the succession of races in England and that the methods of anthropological investigation we pursue will never succeed in disentangling the mixture of races that makes up our modern population. Quite the reverse; I believe all of these aims can be accomplished, but the means are slow and laborious. We have in the first place to be provided with *dated* material, such as Mr. Cocks has obtained for us by his excavations at Hambleden. Were every excavation systematically carried out so that a date could be assigned to such human remains as were brought to light; and were such remains systematically studied, described, and recorded, we would, in the course of time, have the means of writing a full history of our British racial types. It should be kept in mind that head-form is only one of a series of racial characters; the conformation of the face and limbs is equally important.

I have thought it necessary to detail the objects which modern anthropologists have in view in examining and recording the characters of human remains discovered in the course of antiquarian research. Before returning to the description of those discovered at Hambleden, there are two questions I may try to answer now, and the first of these is this: Do people similar to those found at Hambleden—people of the Romano-British type—occur in our modern population? I would answer that inquiry with a confident—Yes—in very considerable numbers, particularly amongst the English middle classes. Our methods are not exact enough nor are the facts at our disposal sufficiently numerous to permit us to make any precise estimate, but from what I have learned and observed I infer that a considerable proportion of our modern population is derived from people who arrived in England during the period of the Roman occupation. The next question is: From which region or regions of the Continent did such people come? Now it is a very remarkable fact that although the round-heads had overrun France and Northern Italy several thousand years before the Romans set foot in England, very few, if any, typical round-heads have been found in Romano-British graves. Almost invariably the head-form is that of the people found at Hambleden—a head-form which I have seen in ancient skulls from Holland, from ancient cemeteries of Northern France and Paris, from the Valley of the Rhone and Etruscan tombs. The same type may also have occurred in Spain. It would have been from such regions that the immigrants for the Roman settlements and stations in Britain would have been drawn. It must always be kept in mind that the people buried in Romano-British settlements do not represent the real British people of the Roman period; the mass of the governed—living and dying outside the pale of the Roman settlements—we do not know much about at the present time.

It is not necessary for me to give a detailed description of the various bones; the measurements required by anthropologists will be found in the tables of measurements which are appended and in the drawings of two of the adult skulls. The teeth and jaws show remarkably little evidence of disease. It is among the people buried in British graves of the Roman period that we first see in our country crowding and irregularity of the teeth, and contracture of the palate and caries of the teeth, but, saving a few spots of caries on the molar teeth, there are no signs at Hambleden of the irregularities or contractures which are so common in modern jaws. The teeth of the men are scarcely worn, but they were comparatively young men, for the epiphyses of the pelvis are still unjoined. In the woman the wisdom teeth (3rd molars) of the lower jaw are absent and they have never been developed. That is a very common occurrence among women found buried in the Roman graves of Britain. She is rather older than the men and the crowns of her first molar teeth are deeply worn.

One other point is worth noting—connected with the ankle joints and feet. In one of the men (B) and in the woman (C) squatting facets are present at the lower end of the tibia—caused by a contact between that point and the neck of the astragalus when the squatting position is assumed. The articular surface on the astragalus for the internal malleolus almost meets the articular surface on the head of that bone—the non-articular interval in one case being only 3 mm. wide. The joints between the heads of the metatarsal bones and the proximal phalanges of the toes are well formed—showing none of the distortion so common in the feet of modern people.

Tables of Measurements.

A. *Relating to the Cranium.*

	A ♂	B ♂	C ♀
Max. length	193 mm.	190 mm.	175 mm.
„ width	144 mm.	144 mm.	135 mm.
Ceph. index	74·6	75·8	77·1
Supra-mental height	114 mm.	119 mm.	103 mm.
Cranial capacity [1]	1,470 c.c.	1,540 c.c.	1,180 c.c.
Min. frontal width	98 mm.	95 mm.	91 mm.
Max. „ „	127 mm.	121 mm.	116 mm.
Width of roots of mastoid processes	128 mm.	132 mm.	124 mm.

B. *Relating to the Measurements of the Face* (millimetres).

	A ♂	B ♂	C ♀
Naso-alveolar length	69	71	67
„ mental „	116	117	111
Supra-orbital width	104	102	99
Bizygomatic width	138	132	136
Width between lower ends of malo-maxillary sutures	94	96	94
Width between angles of mandible	100	96	99
Width between outer ends of condyles of mandible	130	122	122
Height of nose	50	50	51
Width of nose	25	23	22
Inter-orbital width	27	26	23·5
Width of palate [2]	64	63	64
Length of palate [3]	45	47	47
Width of mandibular ramus	36	32	32

[1] Estimated by Pearson-Lee formula.

[2] Measured between lateral borders of second molar teeth.

[3] Measured from point between middle incisor, from crown, and a point midway between hinder borders of third molar teeth.

C. *Relating to the Bones of the Limbs* (millimetres).

(*In almost every case the measurements relate to the bones of the right side.*)

	A ♂	B ♂	C ♀
Femur			
Oblique or standing height	455	456	420
Vertical diam. of head	46	46	42
Transv. diam. below troch. min.	34·5	30	31
Ant.-post. „ „ „ „	28	26·5	25
Transv. diam. mid-point of shaft	26	26	24
Ant.-post. „ „ „ „	32	29·5	26
Width of lower extremity	81·5	77	69
Tibia			
Total length	371	386	340
Length from upper to lower artic. surface	357	365	324
Transv. diam. at nutrient forearm	24·5	25·5	20
Ant.-post. „ „ „ „	35	39	27·5
Transv. diam. at mid-point of shaft	22	26	19
Ant.-post. „ „ „ „ „	30	34	24
Fibula			
Transv. diam. at mid-point of shaft	12	12	14
Ant.-post. „ „ „ „	14	18·5	12
Clavicle			
Length	150	142	135 (?)
Vertic. diam. of inner third	16	12	11
Ant.-post. „ „ „ „	13	16	11
Humerus			
Total length	332	328	305
Ant.-post. diam. at deltoid impression	25	24	20
Transv. diam. „ „ „	22·5	20	20
Radius			
Length—including styloid process	242	(?) 231	217
Transv. diam. at mid-point of shaft	17·5	18	14·5
Ant.-post. „ „ „ „	13	12	12

APPENDIX III

BONES OTHER THAN HUMAN

I have to thank Mr. E. T. Newton, F.R.S., etc., for kindly identifying most of the wild mammalian bones, and a few of the domestic; for nearly all the birds, and the batrachians and fish. A few were identified by the other gentlemen whose names are appended in place; the remainder by myself.

Wild Animals.

Cat. About half a dozen individuals recognized; probably both Wild and Domestic.

The question has, I believe, never been settled, whether the Romans had domestic cats, an omission due chiefly to the difficulty or supposed impossibility of distinguishing between their bones. There is at first sight no difference except size, and that is not altogether a trustworthy characteristic. The European Wild Cat is ordinarily larger than the domestic animal, the limb bones especially being longer; but occasionally a domestic cat (particularly a neuter)

may exceed the average measurements of Wild Cats; on the other hand, abnormally small Wild Cats do not seem to occur. If the principal bones of the limbs (or 'long bones'), in any given case, are decidedly shorter than the average measurements of the corresponding bones of a Wild Cat, they may be accepted with very little hesitation as being those of a domestic animal; and bones up to, or even attaining very nearly to, the average length of those of Wild Cats may be accepted with very slightly less confidence as those of that animal. The brain case of a Wild Cat is larger relatively to the length of the skull, and is more filled out than that of a Domestic Cat, but this is perhaps hardly dependable in a series. There is, however, one distinction between the two animals which has so far proved infallible; and Mr. Oldfield Thomas, F.R.S., of the Zoological Department of the Natural History Museum, to whom I explained it, permits me to say that so far as he has yet tried, it has proved quite trustworthy.

Unfortunately, however, ancient, earth-found skeletons are not very often sufficiently perfect to admit of the test. This requires that the two rami of the mandible be obtained in a complete condition, and be re-united at the symphysis in the natural position. The mandible is then set up on a table, on its posterior edges (so that it forms a little arch). If the six processes (namely, the coronoid processes, the condyles, and the angles) all take a bearing, and the jaw lean a little down towards the alveolar side, it is that of a Wild Cat. On the other hand, should the mandible get a bearing on any less number than all the six processes, and lean over towards the mental side, it is that of a Domestic Cat. In an extreme case the leaning towards the mental side may be so exaggerated that directly the mandible is let go, it falls down. (This difference results from imperfect development of the bone in the domestic condition.)

Pine-Marten (probably 2 individuals). A complete skull in Pit 4 (late fourth century?) and a few other bones.

Polecat (one individual).

Otter (one individual).

Badger (two or three individuals).

Fox (three or four adults, and a litter of very young cubs, the latter identified by Mr. M. A. C. Hinton).

Hare (skeleton, 7 ft. deep in Pit 21 (middle third century) and various separate bones in other sites).

Rabbit (skeleton, 7 ft. 6 in. deep in Pit 21 (middle third century) and various separate bones in other sites).

Red-Deer (about a dozen individuals). Some of the horns very large.

Roe-Deer (half a dozen, or more, individuals). The horns large.

Mole. Bank-Mouse (*Evotomys glareolus*). Grass-Mouse (*Microtus agrestis*). ? Field-Mouse (*Apodemus sylvaticus*). (Birds, undetermined.) Frog. Toad.	From a pellet of a bird of prey, on the S. Wall of 1st House (identified by Mr. M. A. C. Hinton).

Two inferences may perhaps be drawn from this, without unduly theorizing. First, the pellet seems to render it practically certain that the height of the walls as we found them, was the original one; and secondly, that there was a wooden superstructure throughout. (The top surface of the walls generally, and probably universally, was smoother than would have been expected if they had been partially thrown down; moreover we found no amount of flints and chalk lumps adjoining the foot of the walls, excepting only the heap NW. of the 1st House.) The casting must have been covered, by something large enough to protect it without crushing,

within a week (of fine weather) after being ejected from the bird's mouth; no gradual growth or accumulation of humus would have preserved it to our day; the flint wall cannot have been thrown down so long as the superstructure remained in place. The superstructure may have lasted for a number of years after the homestead was deserted, and then, when decayed and rotten, this particular section of it eventually collapsed suddenly (perhaps during a gale) safely burying the recently dropped pellet. There are these additional items of evidence from House I in favour of the flint walls being still of original height: the tile-built drain on the wall between Rooms A and B (p. 145); a mortise in the wall to hold an upright timber; and the worn track out of Room E into the tessellated corridor at the same level as the existing walls (p. 148).

Domestic Animals.

Cat (?) (see above, p. 163).

Dog, numerous.

Horse, from 9 hands up to 15; exceptionally numerous. A complete skull (less mandible) of a young pony, of Professor C. Ewart's Forest variety, estimated height 9 to 10 hands; length of the skull, vertex to alveoli of incisors, 530 mm.; do. in straight line, 500 mm. (Bottom of Pit 18, late third century.)

Ox, very numerous; interesting on account of flattened horn-cores, differentiating them from (?) all modern breeds in this country. All small.

Sheep, small-horned, numerous.

Goat, this and the last named not always distinguishable, but apparently not numerous.

Pig, fairly numerous, chiefly immature (stores and sucklers). It is not impossible that some may have been wild, but there is no recognized bone of wild swine, bear, wolf, or beaver in the collection, though these animals must have then occurred locally. (The only evidence of the beaver in Bucks. hitherto is a tooth I found in the Romano-British pile-village at Hedsor. In Berks. the river Kennet has yielded three or four examples.) Many of the very young pig bones were identified by Mr. E. T. Newton, and one lot by Mr. M. A. C. Hinton.

Bird Bones.

Raven (one tarso-metatarsal).

Rook (eight bones).

Rook, or Carrion-Crow (several bones).

A bone identified by Mr. Newton as belonging to a small Lark (too small for a Sky-Lark), was doubtfully referred by him to the Shore-Lark, but as this species has never been recorded in the county (though there is no impossibility about a straggler reaching it), a Wood-Lark is perhaps more probable.

Blackbird (?) (one bone).

Goose. Numerous bones; the large majority probably domestic (one lot kindly identified by Mr. W. P. Pycraft); a few bones, which are smaller, may be Wild-Geese (? *sp.*)

Duck (three bones), probably Wild-Duck (*Anas boschas*).

Woodcock (three bones).

Stock-Dove (?) (two bones). Mr. Newton identified these as Rock-Dove, but as the occurrence in Bucks. of the latter species rests solely on my uncorroborated assertion,[1] Mr. Newton agrees that the former species is the more likely, for which the bones would equally suit. The Stock-Dove, however, has greatly extended its range during recent years,[2] and may well have been a rare bird in the county during the Roman period.

[1] *V. C. H. Bucks.*, i, 146.

[2] *B. O. U. List*, 2nd ed., 1915, p. 307.

Pheasant, or Domestic Fowl. Eleven 'long bones' are noted by Mr. Newton as small for domestic fowls, but as agreeing well with pheasants; while numerous bones, too large for pheasants, are undoubtedly those of domestic fowls.

Partridge, a merry-thought picked up on the surface is quite likely to be recent.

Fish and Batrachians.

Roach (one pharyngeal bone).
Frogs.
Toads.

Two species of molluscs are usually associated with Roman habitations; Oysters, which were ubiquitous, and numbered hundreds; one big lot had apparently gone bad, and been thrown away unopened. Of the other invertebrate, *Helix pomatia*, not one specimen was found, though I was constantly on the look out for it. Barely a dozen shells of (Sea) Mussel (*Mytilus edulis*) occurred and rarely as many cockles (*Cardium edule*).

APPENDIX IV

THE POTTERY. By Thomas May, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Abbreviations for Works frequently cited.

S. = *The Pottery found at Silchester*, by Thos. May, F.S.A.
York Pottery = *The Roman Pottery in York Museum*, by ditto.
Newstead = *The Roman Fort at Newstead*, by Jas. Curle, F.S.A.
Pompeii = *Jl. of Roman Studies*, vol. iv, part I, by D. Atkinson.
Wroxeter, 1, 2, 3 = *Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter*. Reports I, II, and IV of the Research Committee of the S. A., by J. P. Bushe-Fox, F.S.A.
Hengistbury Head = Report III of ditto. ditto.
Coll. Antiq. = *Collectanea Antiqua*, by Chas. R. Smith.
Haltern = *Mitteil. für Westfalen*, vol. v, by Loeschcke, 1909.
Hofheim = *Nassauer Annalen*, vol. xxxiv, 1904, by Ritterling.
Rottweil = 1907, 1912, *Die verzierten Sig. Gefässe*, by Knorr.
Cannstatt = ditto.
Rottenburg = ditto.
O.-P. = *Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata*, by F. Oswald and T. Davies Pryce.
Déch. = *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine*, by Déchelette.

Terra Sigillata, figs. 7–9, nos. 1–66 and 57 a.

Moulded or embossed red glazed *terra sigillata* (Samian ware) is represented by nine South Gaulish fragments, **1–9**, of bowl form 29 Drag.; seven South or Central Gaulish fragments, **10–16**, of the upright-sided form 30 Drag.; the remainder, **17–51**, are of the later and commoner form 37 Drag., from various places of manufacture, which are as far as possible specified. They date from about the middle of the first to the middle of the third century. The potters' stamps, from PONTVS, CAIVS, and SILVANVS down to BELSA, COMITIALIS, and REP, do not extend beyond the end of the second century. Several complete examples of forms 27, 33, 18, 31 Drag., are in the museum, and quantities of fragments of these forms for which no description or date can be specified. Individually the more interesting are :—**57** a, with

Fig. 7. Figured Terra Sigillata ($\frac{1}{2}$).

incised and impressed ornamentation, of unusual shape, supposed to resemble 72 Déch.; **54**, cup with horizontally outbent rim, decorated on the top with leaves; **55**, large well-preserved mortarium, form 43 Drag., similarly decorated on the upright collar, and coated with the fine glaze of Rheinzabern potters, Ludowici type R S a, c; **57**, shallow bowl or saucer with squarish pendant or undercut lip (probably with strap-handles when complete) supposed to be a variation of 42 Drag.; **56**, complete mortarium with lion-face spout and fluting outside near the foot, form 45 Drag., and a smaller one, both from Pit 3.

These costly varieties of imported table-ware imply a considerable amount of material prosperity, over a lengthened period down to the end of the second century, for the occupants of the villa, and wide commercial intercourse and safe transit for heavy fictilia along the river Thames or across country from the south of Britain, or both, during the earlier portion.

Over one hundred fragments were collected of thin-sided bag-shaped beakers, form 55 Drag., ornamented *en barbotine* with dog chasing hare and scrolls, known as Castor Ware, but not one large enough for drawing. More than two hundred fragments were obtained of rosette-stamped and allied wares, now ascertained to have been made in the New Forest or Sandford potteries, which appear to signify greater activity by local potters imitating sigillata in the third and fourth centuries, and the cutting off of supplies from more distant sources. The latter are partly illustrated, **69–75**, from the more complete specimens.

There are a few complete or restored portions of Late Celtic types, bowl **130** *et seq*, and cooking utensils, **171–175**, derived from the V-ditch, Pit 13 and the yard N. of House III, which point to a Belgic occupation in the pre-Roman period.

Decoration on Terra Sigillata. Fig. 7.

Form 29. South Gaulish Fabric. **1–9**.

1–2. Portion of frieze decoration with the usual roulette-notched cornice above, torus moulding below and bordering rows of beads, consisting of a scroll pattern, the undulating stem throwing off a spiral tendril and two branches ending in deltoid blossom with stipule and triple leaf respectively both above and below the bends. The branches are attached to the middle stretch by rosettes of seven dots. These ornaments were used by potters who worked in the Flavian period, A.D. 69–96. S. p. 27, xi, 6, 7; O.–P. iv, 6. (Yard, near N. wall.) **3**. Zone of alternate cabled and looped open-work gadroons with upper border of beads on soffit (under portion of side). It is of earlier date than the preceding, and assignable to the Claudian-Neronic period, A.D. 41–68. *Rottweil* (1912), p. 14, v, 10; *Wroxeter*, 2, p. 31, xiii, 5; O.–P. p. 72. (N. wall of yard.) **4**. Composite scroll pattern with a bare stem filled with a fantastic palmette, 1169 Déch., above the bend, and a conventional tree composed of pairs of spiral stalked rosettes on either side of an upright stem beneath. The scroll is dated between A.D. 70–90, by comparison with *Rottweil* (1912), p. 38, xix, 5; and S. p. 27, xi, 15–17. (W. end of N. wall, 2 ft. down.) **5, 6**. Portions of torus moulding between bead-rows and stalky scroll pattern, the branches ending in cabled blossoms and heart-shaped dentated leaves, with a bird perched on an upright stem between, dated in the Flavian period, A.D. 69–96. *Rottweil* (1912), p. 11, iv, 5; *id.* (1907), p. 21, ii, 2. (W. end of N. wall, 1 ft. 6 in. down.) **7**. Small section of a metope division on frieze, cut off above by a carelessly made groove, filled with scaled leaflets (arrow-heads?) and diagonal bead-rows. (12 ft. S. of Pit 8, 1 ft. 6 in. down.) **8**. Saltire pattern filled below with three-leaved plant. S. p. 36, xii, 47, on a small section of soffit. *Rottweil* (1912), p. 24, xii, 2; *id.* (1907), i, 2; *Pompeii*, p. 49, fig. 4 E, F, time of Vespasian, A.D. 69–79. (House III, above platform inside S. and W. walls.) **9**. On part of frieze between bead-row borders, hind-quarters of wild-boar, 837 Déch., used by Germanus and potters who worked between A.D. 60–85. *Rottweil* (1912), ix, 11; xi, 1; xii, 5, 6, 8, etc. (Centre of House III, 1 ft. 6 in. down.)

Form 30. **10**. Part of a saltire or St. Andrew's cross pattern with bead-row borders and

diagonals. A fan-shaped group of open-work leaves in the upper triangle was used by South Gaulish potters in the Flavian period, A.D. 69–96. The peculiar loop-stalked leaves in the side triangles are seemingly of later date—second century. The single member of an ovolo border above is badly preserved. *Rottweil* (1912), p. 16, vii, 2; p. 43, xxv, 1. (Quern Hole, 2 ft. down.) **11**. Lower edge of a well-formed ovolo border and portions of two panels. The palm and round bud or blossom combined to *l.* belongs to the second period of Lezoux, A.D. 75–110. The one-armed or mutilated figure to *r.* resembles 328 Déch., i, p. 185, fig. 15; S. p. 64, xxv, 32; (Hybrid Furnace, 1 ft. 6 in. down.) **12**. The well-formed ovolo border with three-pointed tassels is characteristic of the style of Germanus, a prolific potter of La Graufesenque who flourished in the Flavian period, between A.D. 60–85. Hercules gathering apples in the garden of the Hesperides in a bead-row bordered panel to *l.* is on a signed bowl of Mercato of later date, A.D. 81–96. *Rottweil* (1907), p. 64; *id.* (1912), p. 45, xxvii, 1, 4. (Between House III and Pit 8, 1 ft. 6 in. down.) **13**. Worn and mutilated ovolo and part of a panel bordered above and below by girth-grooves and divided horizontally by a bead-row tied in the angles by a rosette of seven petals, containing a festoon above and lion and double leaf used by the potter Janus, who worked at Rheinzabern about A.D. 120. O.–P., p. 23; *Rottenburg*, p. 53, xi, 1, 5; xii, 9. **14**. Parts of panels separated by bead-rows and bordered below by a fillet, containing forepart of deer looking back, 878 Déch., used by Lezoux potters Banuus and Epillus, who worked between A.D. 117–90. O.–P., pp. 107, 113. (Pit 8, 14 ft. down.) **15**. Three pointed tassels of ovolo as on **12**, and parts of panels containing small dog used by the South Gaulish potter Masculus (not to be confused with Masclus), A.D. 69–96. S. p. 235; *Rottweil* (1912), p. 11, iv, 5; *Cannstatt*, p. 23, xi, 1. (Pit 24, 11 ft. down.) **16**. Three widely separated members of ovolo with rosette-ended tassels and part of a large stalky scroll bordered above by a wavy line. The cabled blossom in the upper bend was in frequent use during the Flavian period, A.D. 69–96. (3 ft. SW. of Hybrid Furnace, 1 ft. 6 in. down.)

Form 37. **17**. Saltire with wavy borders and diagonals tied in the centre with a rosette of seven dots containing bird (deformed) and triangular serrated leaves in the style of East Gaulish potters of the early second century. (13 ft. N. of House III, opposite clay tank.) **18**. The ornaments in polyzonal style (transitional from the earlier form 29) on this small fragment, the grassy mount or peculiar ground surface above, and festoon containing a spiral stalked rosette, with a bunch of grapes on a wavy stalk as tassel, are on signed bowls of Germanus, A.D. 60–85. *Rottweil* (1912), p. 26; xii, 22, 23, 25, 26. (W. end of N. wall, 2 ft. 6 in. down.) **19**. The style is transitional with the unusual feature of a bead-row or cabled border above the ovolo which is blurred. The peculiar tree or fern-leaf of nine fronds and thick grass below the animals (wild-boar, Déch. 841, and lion of 'the potter of the large rosettes') are also singular. They are dated before A.D. 77–9 by *Pompeii*, 77. (Pit 15, 2 ft. down.) **20**. Small sections of two zones in like style, the upper zone containing a saltire like **17**. The sceptre-head or fuchsia-like blossom in the left triangle was used frequently by South Gaulish potters in the Flavian period, as well as the zonal wreath of S-shaped motive forming the lower border. *B. M. Cat.* fig. 189. (Mortar floor S. of House III.) **21**. Of like style, the upper zone consists of bead-row bordered metopes, one of which contains scaled leaflets (arrow-heads?) and diagonal bead-rows. The lower zone is a wreath of S-shaped ornament as on **20**. (Mortar floor S. of House III.) **22**. The ornaments—ovolo border, wavy line, and annulets—are of the early second century. The little warrior resembles 380 Déch. clumsily restored, used by Cinnamus, Doeccus, etc., in the first half of the second century; the annulets in the field by Sacer. *Cannstatt*, pp. 17, 18, vi, 59; p. 21, viii, 6, 7; O.–P., p. 122. (Pit 15.) **23**. Portions of bead-row bordered panels and large circular wreath too meagre for identification. (Pit 5.) **24**. Two zones of bead-row bordered scroll patterns and bordering wreath of double circles, the outer one beaded. The semicircular bends of the undulating stems of the scrolls, the lituus-like spirals, and double leaves were used by a Luxeuil potter using the stamp RANTO, or 'the potter

of the helmets and shields', of the period A.D. 81–117. The zone of double circles is more often used as an upper border in place of the ovolo. S. p. 75, xxvii, 88, 93; by Granius, *B. M. Cat.* M 1302, fig. 200; M 1546, fig. 215; M 1206, 1336, 1441; O.–P., p. 24. (Pit 11, 13 ft. down; and Pit 16.)

STYLE OF PANELS, dated A.D. 75–110. **25–33**.

The significant ornaments are the contained figures, plants, etc. **25**. Candelabrum in panel to *l.* like 1095 Déch.; panel filled with palm-branches and buds on upright stalks used by Lezoux potters, Déch. i, p. 115, fig. 115. (Pit 16, 3 ft. down.) **26**. In panel to *l.*, part of a mutilated and uncertain nude figure. In panel to *r.* Pan, 411 Déch., used by Advocisus and other early second-century potters. (Under mortar floor, to S. of House III.) **27**. Upper half of Vulcan, 39 Déch., used by Lezoux potters of the period; see no. 36. (Yard, E.) **28**. Diana without her usual attributes as on examples found at Wilderspool and Templeborough (unpublished). (100 to 105 ft. N. of wicket in Enclosure Wall.) **29**. Small fragment with two members of a large and well-formed ovolo, perhaps of somewhat later date. (Yard, E.) **30**. Members of ovolo wide apart with tassels attached on *r.* Bead-row bordered panel framing Mars or satyr, 362 Déch., Lezoux fabric. (About 5 ft. N. from **28**.) **31**. Well-formed ovolo with rosette tassels. In mid panel mutilated figure. In angle of panel to *r*, astragal or reel, 1111 Déch., used by Lezoux potters of the second century. (Pit 8, 15 ft. down.) **32**. Ovolo with rosette terminals (blurred). Acanthus and cornucopiae in panel to *l.* *B. M. Cat.* M 1102 (probably by the same potter); S. p. 63, xxv, 24; *Newstead*, p. 227, fig. 5, A.D. 140–80. (Pit. 24, 6 ft. down.) **33**. Small well-formed ovolo with rosette terminals. The vertical bead-row is crossed diagonally with an astragal or reel, 1111 Déch., as used by Cinnamus and other potters of the first half of the second century. In panels, arm and foot of little warrior, 382 Déch., and candelabrum. S. p. 79, xxviii, 110. (Part near W. end of NW. wall, 2 ft. down; part in Pit 16.) **34**. Style of Arcading. Left arm of Venus, 173 Déch., in panel to *l.* and within a shrine or niche Pan, hornblower, 412 Déch., with astragal or reel, 1111 Déch., as used by Cinnamus and other Lezoux potters, A.D. 117–90. O.–P., p. 109; S. p. 213. (V-Ditch.)

STYLE OF LARGE MEDALLIONS AND DEMI-MEDALLIONS, dated A.D. 110–260. **35–40**.

35. Large ovolo with cabled L-shaped terminals. In panels with wavy borders, part of large demi-medallion and *pelta* (Amazon shield) and Hercules, 446 Déch., used by Lezoux potters. (Pit 20, 12 ft. down.) **36**. In large double medallion, panther couchant, *r.*, 799 Déch.; in mid panel, lower end of caduceus-like ornament, 1113 Déch., and feet and foot-rest of Vulcan, 39 Déch., used by Advocisus, Cinnamus, Cerealis, Doeccus, and other Lezoux potters of the second century. Part of No. 27 (above). (15 ft. to S. of Pit 8, 1 ft. 6 in. down.) **37**. Large well-formed ovolo with pierced ball terminals, and small section of large double medallion. (Pit 8, 15 ft. down.) **38**. Tall ovolo with star terminals. Large double semicircle (conventional festoon) pendent from astragals or reels, containing a square ornament with loops in the corners and rosette within a circle in the centre. *B. M. Cat.* M 1398, fig. 209, classed with Lezoux ware. (15 ft. E. of Pit 6.) **39**. Dolphin, 1050 Déch., within a double medallion, used by several Lezoux potters. (In the Little House, 1 ft. 6 in. down.) **40**. Stunted squarish ovolo with ⊥-ended terminals; in a large demi-medallion, dolphin turned to left used by Laxtucissa and recorded in S. p. 69, xxvi, 58; and *Wroxeter*, 2, p. 30, no. 24; O.–P., p. 117, A.D. 98–138. (Pits 16 and 5, in parts.)

STYLE OF FREE FIGURES, the latest of Lezoux before A.D. 200. **41–44**.

41. Horseman galloping *r*, throwing a spear, 156 Déch., used by Libertus, Cinnamus, Doeccus, and hinder part of bear, 810 Déch.? (Pit 24, in pieces 2 ft. and 9 ft. down.) **42**. Hinder part of lion, 795 Déch.? and deer? The pigmy with shield, 834 Déch., is also used, placed below an animal, by Borillus, Cinnamus, Felix, Marcus, potters of La Graufesenque, Montans, and Lezoux.

(NW. of NW. wall, 2 ft. down.) **43**. Lion devouring a wild boar, like but not identical with 778 Déch., and forepart of stag, 874 Déch. (14 to 18 ft. N. of House III.) **44**. Forelegs and middle of stag like 867 or 875 Déch., and upper part of small nude figure, 402 or 403 Déch., both used by Lezoux potters of the period. (NW. of NW. wall, 2 ft. down.)

45. Of uncertain style, has a horizontal row of six annulets, and is too incomplete to indicate provenance or date. (Between House III and Pit 8.)

East Gaulish Fabrics. 46–51.

The remaining six fragments (except perhaps **47**) are decorated in the imitative, incoherent style of East Gaulish potters. Ornaments without artistic affinity are distributed symmetrically in the field without unity of design or framing. Attempts to originate figure-subjects are naïve and sometimes vulgar and grotesque.

46. From left to right, forepart of lion resembling 790 Déch., little warrior with shield and distorted and detached arm wielding a sword; *scutum* or oblong shield used by RANT, see **24** above; astragal or reel; rosette and triple open-work leaf. O.–P., p. 24; *B.M. Cat.* M 1206, 1334, 1441. (Pit 16, 17 ft. down.) **47**. Within wavy lines a large demi-medallion framing two large spirals. The *pelta* in the spandrel was used by Satto who worked in the Upper Moselle district between A.D. 81–137. S. p. 83, xxix, 33. (Pit 9, 12 ft. down.) **48**. The ornament in the left-hand lower corner consists of four little dolphins in saltire, 1114 Déch., and S. p. 75, xxvii, 87, 90. The lituus-like spiral, *ibid.* 91. The human figure to *r.* is probably Silenus, not in Déch. *Wroxeter*, 3, p. 38. xxv, 2. (Inside Annexe.) **49**, **50**. Two groups of crude design to represent teams of centaurs harnessed to chariots and driven by a figure holding a whip. They are also on a bowl 37 illustrated by Fölzer, in *Römische Keramik in Trier*, vol. i, (1913), fig. 3, no. 1. The potteries in Trèves (or Trier) were at work in the third century. (1st House, Rooms F and D; E. and S. of W. corridor.) **51**. Small fragment belonging to the same bowl. The three-leaved broad-arrow-like ornament on both is copied from first-century bowls, form 29, made at La Graufesenque. *Pompeii*, fig. 4, F.

Terra Sigillata decorated *en barbotine*. Fig. 8.

52. *Form* 36. This example (p. 151) was pierced in Roman times with round holes for mending with leaden rivets which had perished. It is ornamented on the top of the out-curved rim with leaves on stalks. The form appeared in the last quarter of the first and lasted to the end of the second century, and was made in South, Central, East Gaulish and Upper German potteries. *Hofheim* (1912), type 15; *Newstead*, type 5; *Niederbieber*, type 4; Ludowici, T e. It was much copied in ordinary clay with painted ornaments at a later period. (35 ft. from House I, near Single-T Furnace.) **53**. *Form* 38. Fragment of bowl with wide curved flange about half an inch below the lip, similarly ornamented, assignable to about A.D. 100. *Gellygaer*, xii, 9; *York Pottery*, p. 20, ix, 10. **54**. *Form* 46, Ludowici, B b. Small conical cup with like decoration on the surface of the horizontally outbent rim. It was made plain and ornamented at Rheinzabern, and occurs at Niederbieber, types 8 a, b, dated A.D. 190–260. (6 ft. N. of Quern Hole N. of Yard.) **55**. *Form* 43. This well-made and well-preserved specimen is provided with a spout and studded on the inside base with stones to resist friction in use as a mortarium. The lower visible portion of the outside is fluted and the vertically downbent flange or collar ornamented with peacocks and heart-shaped leaves (ivy?) on long winding stalks which are figured below no. 55. Rheinzabern fabric, Ludowici R S a, c, and R. S. M., a, b, of about A.D. 200, occurring at Niederbieber, type 21, A.D. 190–260, and not much later. (Pit 3.) **56**. *Form* 45. Ludowici R S b, described by Walters, *B. M. Cat.* M 2238–47, as a *deversorium*, is provided with a $\frac{1}{4}$-in. hole in the lower part of the upright rim, marked on the outside with a lion-face in applied relief, for a spout, and lined on the inside base with white stone particles. Fluting on the outside near the foot is an unusual feature. It is a revival of the earliest form of mortaria

in white clay brought from Italy with the legions ; *Haltern*, type 59, 11 B.C.–A.D. 9, and was found in abundance at Niederbieber down to A.D. 260, but did not survive much longer. Imitations were made later at Ashley Rails (*Ashley Rails*, p. 32, 20–22), and Sandford potteries. Portions of thirty-four in sigillata technique are recorded at Silchester, S. p. 94, several with the

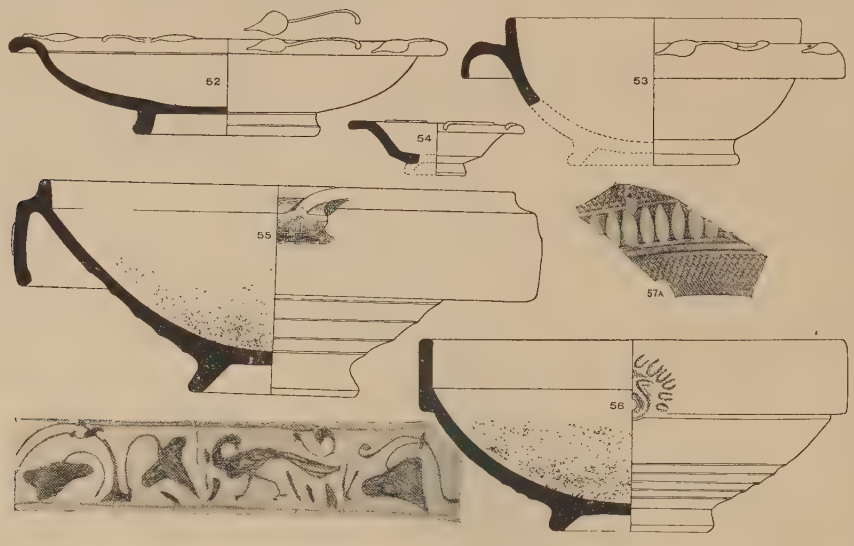


Fig. 8. Terra Sigillata, decorated *en barbotine* ($\frac{1}{4}$).

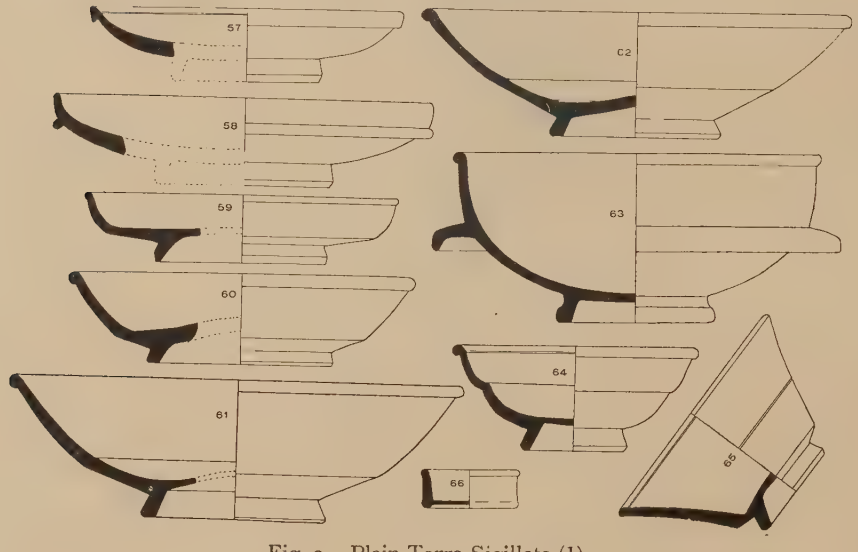


Fig. 9. Plain Terra Sigillata ($\frac{1}{4}$).

stamp GEMINUS on the outside. (Pit 3.) **57** A. *Form* 72 ? Fragment from the side of a large globular vessel apparently of form 72 ; Walters, *B. M. Cat.* pl. xliv, decorated with three or more zones of impressed and incised patterns bordered by girth-grooves. Incised ornamentation imitating cut glass appeared about A.D. 150, and was most widely distributed 160–80, lasting into the fourth century. Hundreds of fragments of forms 49 and 37 decorated with

roulette-hatching from the waste-heaps beside the kilns at Heiligenberg are recorded by Forrer, p. 98, pls. xiii, 9; xiv, 1–11; *York Pottery*, p. 18, viii, 1, 2; Déchelette II, v, 1–3; O.–P., pl. lxxvi. (Pit 2, 10 ft. down, and Pit 5, 11 ft. down.)

Smooth Terra Sigillata. Fig. 9.

57. Fragment from the side of a shallow bowl or saucer with rounded side and pendent square-edged lip (restored in drawing). Examples with and without strap-handles are recorded, O.–P., p. 194, liv, 7, 10; *Corbridge Report*, 1911, p. 46, fig. 9, type 116, and are dated, with their variants, A.D. 69–138, by potters' stamps. (Pit 5.) **58**. Rim-fragment of shallow bowl or saucer with pronounced bead about ½ in. below the lip (restored in drawing). Rheinzabern fabric, Ludowici T i. *Niederbieber*, p. 22, type 6 a, A.D. 190–260. In the fourth century it becomes a favourite, without the bead as form 32. (Pit 8.) **59**. *Form* 18. (Between Pits 6 and 20.) The origin and development of this type of bowl or plate from an Arretine prototype is so well illustrated from other sources, S. p. 13, v, 13, 14, p. 91, xxxii, 30; O.–P., p. 181, xlv, that description is unnecessary. The form it takes before the end of the first century is shown by the three following examples, **60–62**, and S. p. 91, xxxii, 31. **60**. *Form* 31. Fragment (restored in drawing). (SE. of Block, 6 yds. S. of SE. angle of Annexe, 1 ft. 6 in. down.) **61**. Fragment of larger and later bowl of like form. (Pit 24.) **62**. Larger and later example of like form, complete. In the centre is the Rheinzabern potter's stamp ATIANIANI.M, also recorded in *B. M. Cat.* M 2338, on form 32, and O.–P., p. 37. The owner's mark ✳ is scratched with a point below the base and happens to be one form of the Chrism, but the resemblance is probably unintentional. (Pit 3, 7 ft. 6 in. down.) **63**. *Form* 38. This is a widely distributed well-known form derived from Belgic (La Tène) ceramic, appearing with horizontal flange just below the lip, ornamented and unornamented, not later than A.D. 40–51, *Hofheim*, p. 210, xxxi, type 12; with boldly projecting downbent flange lower down the side, at the end of the first century, *Gellygaer*, p. 81, xii, 9; and with plain rim widely extended and low down flange in the fourth century. In the centre is the stamp of a potter, PRIVATIM, who worked in E. Gaul at the beginning of the second century. O.–P., p. 183. (Pit 15, 6 ft. down, with Castor ware.) **64**. *Form* 27. This cup with double bulge and middle constriction is copied from an Arretine prototype. S. v, 12. It became widely distributed throughout the Empire during the first and first half of the second century, and was often copied by local potters in ordinary clay. Several examples of both at Hambleden. In the centre is a stamp, ALBVCIOF, Albucius, a Lezoux potter of the time of Hadrian, A.D. 117–38. S. p. 201. (Pit 9, in pieces at 2 ft., 2 ft. 8 in., and 6 ft. down.) **65**. *Form* 33. The conical cup of like origin was still more widely distributed at a somewhat later date. The present example has the stamp in the centre of PECVLIARISF who worked at Lezoux and East Gaul between A.D. 117–90; also found in the later deposit at Newstead, p. 238, A.D. 140–90. O.–P., p. 95. (Pit 9, 9 ft. down.) **66**. *Form* 22. Rim-fragment of a little cup with upright side and bead lip which appears occasionally on sites dated between A.D. 40–83. *Hofheim*, type 11 B; *Newstead*, p. 197, xxxix, 12. It is imitated from the earlier Italian type 4 Drag. (60 ft. N. of Enclosure Wall, E. of Yard.)

Black Slip-glazed Ware. Rhenish Ware. **67–68**, **68** A. Fig. 10.

The glaze is produced by coating the biscuit body with a watery slip of powdered glass or frit, coloured with black iron oxide (magnetite) and rebaking to burn in the glaze.

67. *Form* 55. The sloping side of the bag-shaped beaker, characterized by having the widest part below the middle, is adapted for receiving a zone of ornaments of descriptions which vary considerably according to locality and date. The decoration is usually applied *en barbotine* in white paint or slip, and consists of hunting-scenes, convivial inscriptions, and scrolls. In this instance the decorated zone is bordered by roulette-notched grooves and filled with S-shaped scrolls ending in heart-shaped long-spiked leaves of third-century type. *Niederbieber*, p. 40, type 33; S. p. 104, pls. xl, C, xlii, A, B. (Pit 15, 6 ft. down.) **68**, **68** A. Bulbous beakers

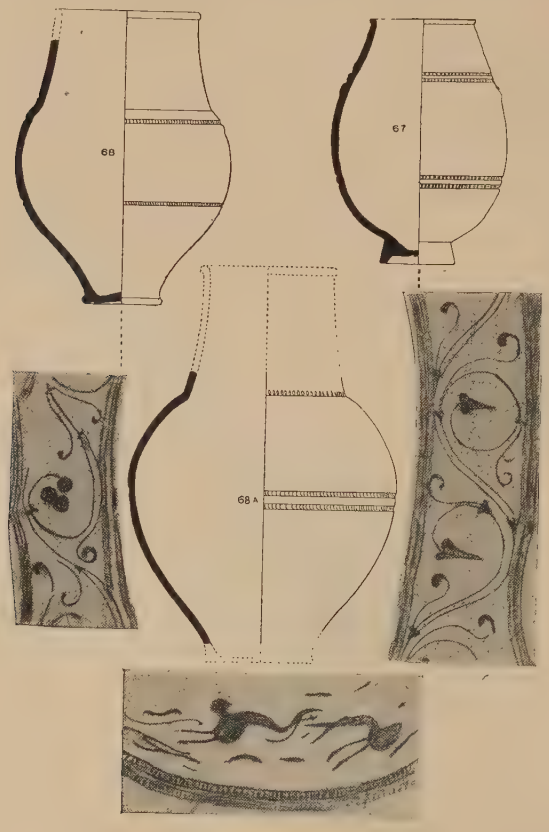


Fig. 10. Rhenish Ware ($\frac{1}{4}$).

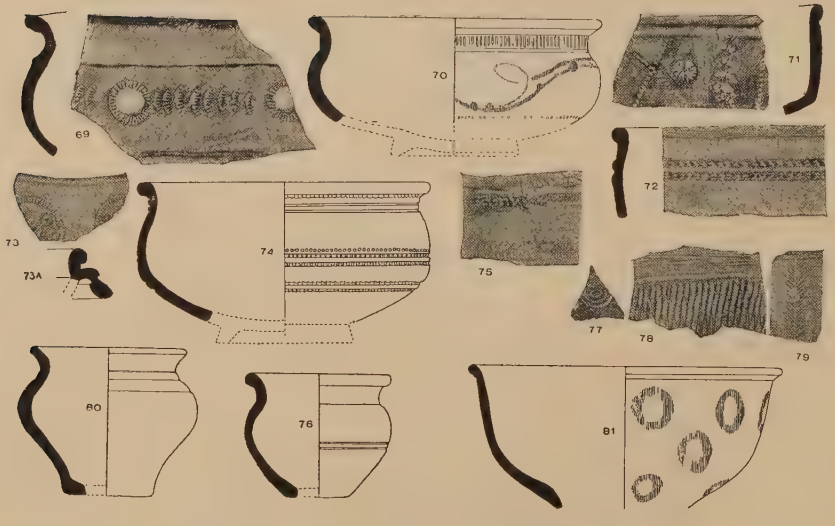


Fig. 11. New Forest and Sandford Ware ($\frac{1}{2}$).

with long cylindrical neck and narrow foot (almost complete). The decoration on **68** is of similar type, the scrolls ending in berries with raised centres. That on **68** A is of a much ruder description, consisting of long curved strokes to represent scrolls and fantastic animals (dog chasing hare). (The former was found in Yard, N. of House III; the latter in Pit 19, 8 ft. down, along with **63**.)

Enamel Glazed Bowl.

99. *Form* 30. (Fig. 13; the foot-ring is restored conjecturally in drawing.) The dark-brown glaze is composed of lead and glass with copper or iron oxide colouring, and is of a dense and opaque consistency. The upright side is divided by grooves and two countersunk cordons into three zones after the manner of the sigillata bowl of the same form, and the lower zones encircled by five wavy incised lines by way of ornament. The body itself is of hard reddish

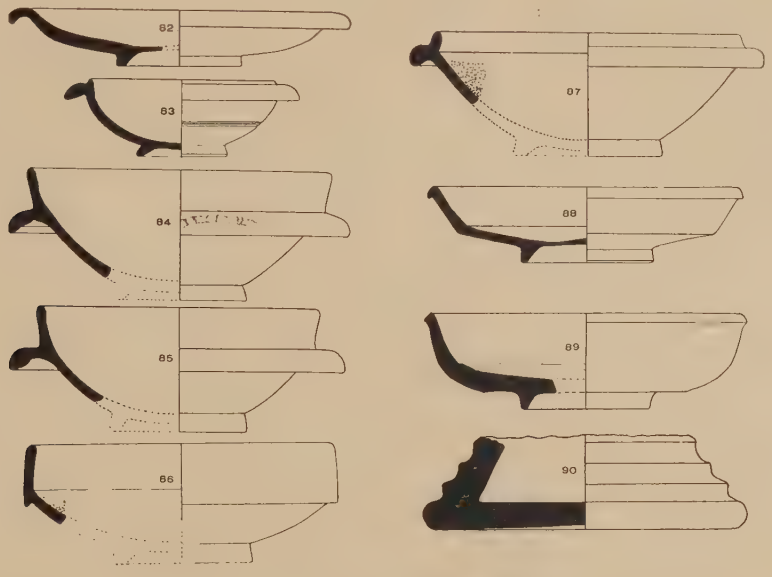


Fig. 12. Imitations of Sigillata Shapes (¼).

clay. Thirteen small fragments of similar ware may belong to the same bowl. (Pit 20, 12 ft. down.)

For an account of potters' kilns and fragments coated with green, brown, and yellow glaze of a like kind found at Holt near Chester, during excavations by Mr. Arthur Acton, F.S.A., see *Roman Britain in 1914*, p. 20, by the late Professor Haverfield. S. p. 101, xxxix, A, 11, records a small fragment similarly decorated.

Imitations of Sigillata. **69–90**. Figs. 11, 12.

(a) *Imitations of Shape and Colour*, **69–75**.

The seven illustrated fragments were either made at the kilns at Ashley Rails in the New Forest recently discovered by Mr. Sumner and illustrated and described in his books, or at Sandford near Littlemore, Oxon., discovered in 1877 by the late Professor Rolleston and our fellow Mr. A. H. Cocks, M.A.[1] They are in well-washed tile-red clay coated with pinkish red slip, and dated by coins down to the beginning of the fifth century.

[1] W. E. Cobbold, C.E., was the actual discoverer.—A. H. C.

69. *Form* 81. Decoration: a zone of stamped rosettes and demi-rosettes. (House I, Room D, west side.) **70**. *Form* 81. A band of roulette-notches $\frac{1}{4}$ in. high and a girth-groove below the rim, and a rude zonal scroll and berries in white paint round the bulge. (House I, Room C.) **71**. *Form* 29, *nearly*. Stamped rosettes, demi-rosettes, and rows of little sunk squares alternately round the side. (Pit 19, 3 ft. down.) **72**. *Form* 29, *nearly*. Two roulette-notched cordons side by side $\frac{3}{4}$ in. below the lip. (Pit 19, 3 ft. down.) **73**. Small rim fragment, a zone of large stamped rosettes enclosing five or six smaller ones. (Yard.) **73 A**. One of several fragments of rim of mortarium with characteristic Sandford mouldings and almond-shaped flange—damaged by smoke. (Pit 19, 4 ft. down.) **74**. *Form* 81. A roulette-notched girth-groove and false cordon below the lip, and two others on the lower part of the bulge with a row of little punch marks. (House I, Room D.) **75**. Fragment of upright-sided bowl with two zones of roulette hatching. (House I, Room C.) **76**. Cup or little bowl with S-shaped side and bead-lip, deeply grooved below the middle, in similar technique and from the same locality. *Ashley Rails*, p. 17, iii, 7.

(b) *Imitations of Sigillata Shapes.*

77. *Form* 30? Compass-inscribed concentric semicircles above comb-marked vertical lines. First century. S. p. 171, lxxi, 164; *B. M. Cat.*, p. li, M 2670–700. (Pit 5.) **78**. *Form* 37. Roulette hatching bordered above by a girth-groove. (V-ditch.) **79**. Small fragment. Fir-tree pattern vertically inscribed with a blunt point. Fumed grey clay with darker surface. (V-ditch.) **80**. Form like that of **76** and of like clay coated with black varnish. A countersunk cordon at the root of the neck. (Pit 24, 3 ft. down.) **81**. *Form* 37, imperfect and distorted, measuring 7 × 5 in. across the lip, and of hard light-red clay smoothed outside only; decorated with rings an inch in diameter in white paint set wide apart alternately in three rows. (Pit 5.)

82. *Form* 35–36 (restored in drawing). Clay hard bluish red by overbaking. (Quern Hole.) **83**. *Form* like *Wroxeter*, 2, p. 41, type 82, the forerunner of form 38. It has the oval flange of Sandford pattern and two girth-grooves in the middle, and is of soft grey clay. (V-ditch.) **84**. *Form* 38. The rim is plain and widely expanded; the flange is of Sandford type, $\frac{7}{8}$ in. below the lip, and decorated in white paint with a curved ladder-pattern at wide intervals on the top. Hard light-red clay, with darker red iron oxide slip. These are 3rd–4th century features. (Pit 9.) **85**. *Similar*, with plump oval Sandford flange unornamented and of like material (restored in drawing). (Between Houses II and III, in a trench.) **86**. *Form* 45 (restored in drawing), of similar ware to that of the two preceding; lined inside with white quartz particles. Fragments of similar type were found beside the kilns at Sandford and in the New Forest. *Ashley Rails*, p. 32, x[A], 20–2, with imitation (unpierced) spouts masked with rudely modelled lion faces. **87**. *Mortarium*, flanged type, like **83** above, of the same clay as **85, 86**, lined with brown quartz particles. (House I, Room D.) **88**. *Form* 18. Clay heavy, hard, light-brown, polished inside, rough outside. In the centre is an imitation potter's stamp something like VIISI. (Pit 24, in pieces 8 to 11 ft. down.) **89**. *Form* 18–31, with a quarter-round moulding at the inside angle. Clay hard sandy fumed grey. The moulding is on two examples from Rough Castle and Corbridge illustrated in *Carlisle Mus. Catalogue*, 107. **90**. Moulded base of a large flower vase or similar receptable, of hard sandy grey clay coated with black iron oxide slip or bitumen (the coating on fragments is often so much decayed that its nature can only be determined by analysis). (E. side of yard, 90 ft. from Enclosure Wall.)

Ornamented Belgic or Fumed Grey Ware. **91–94**. Late Celtic, **95-97**, Lamp, **98**. Fig. 13.

91. Upper part of a well-potted beaker or olla with oblique rim and carinated shoulder forming between them a V-shaped indentation, decorated with groups wide apart of vertical sharply incised lines. Hard fumed light-grey clay with black coating. (Pit 17.) **92**. *'Poppy-head' type*, with wide oblique slightly curved rim separated from the globular body by

a cordon. Decorated with rows of little clay studs in lozenge-shaped groups on the shoulder, and a girth-groove in the middle. Pale-grey clay, darker and slightly polished outside. The type occurs frequently in the creeks and saltings along the north shores of Kent and is known as Upchurch Ware. It was imported from Trèves (or Trier) in the first century. (Pit 25.) **93**. *Bag-shaped beaker*, with small oblique rim, rough-cast, with sand-grains fastened on with clay, slip. (E. centre of yard.) **94**. Carinated cup (restored in drawing), of similar type to S. p. 172, lxxii, 169. (25 ft. E. of blocks N. of NW. wall.)

95. Shoulder fragment of olla ornamented with a zone of obliquely impressed strokes between girth-grooves. Sandy pipe-clay with smooth slip. Resembles *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxii, fig. 16 from Cobham, of early first-century date. (V-ditch.) **96**. Several fragments of coarse gritty furrowed ware, probably baked in contact with the fuel, of Late Celtic type. (V-ditch.) **97**. Fragment of olla of like character, decorated with a zone of obliquely set oval impressions to imitate a laurel wreath. Late Celtic like the Cobham example, *op. cit.*, xxii, I, 2, 5. (Trench N. of House III.)

98. Hand-lamp (restored in drawing) well formed, circular in shape, but showing marks of wheel turning, with plain moulded cover-plate pierced with large holes for filling and wick. Hard fumed grey clay. (Yard N. of House III.)

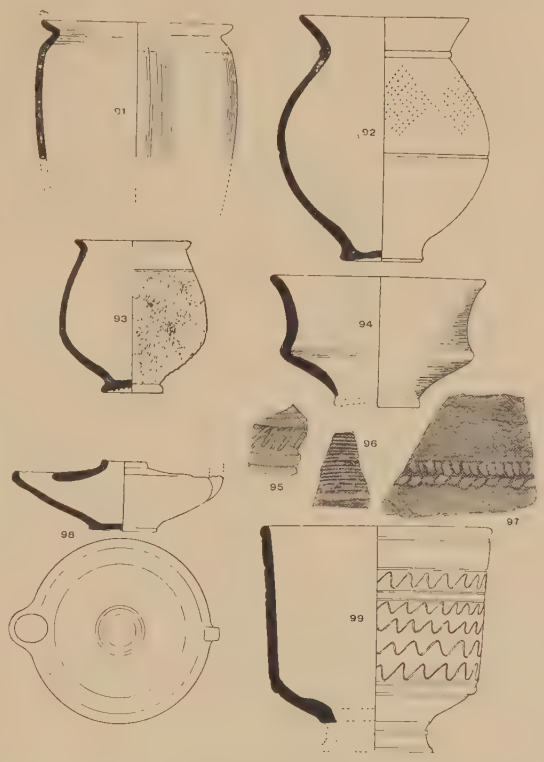


Fig. 13. Ornamented Belgic Ware (¼).

For **99** see p. 175, and fig. 13.

White Clay Ware. **100–126**. Fig. 14.

White clay seems to have been preferred during the first two centuries of our era throughout the Empire for flagons and mortaria, leading to the conjecture that they were used in conjunction as basin and ewer.

100. Upper portion of *lagena* (two-handled), of sandy white pipe-clay, similar to a Hengistbury Head specimen of the first century. *Hengistbury Head*, p. 46, xxiv, 24. (Pit 24, 7 ft. down.) **101**. Neck of flagon with part of handle, of pale buff clay (burnt on one side to brown), of late 1st cent. type. *York Pottery*, p. 68; *Corbridge Report*, 1911, fig. 5, no. 1. (Pit 24, 13 ft. down.) **102**. Neck and handle of flagon, of brick-red clay with white slip. Early 2nd cent. type. (Below clay floor of House II.) **103**. Side fragment of bowl (restored in drawing), form 38, with New Forest flange moulding. Hard white pipe-clay. *Islands Thorns, New Forest*, pl. viii A, 4th cent. **104**. Middle portion of indented beaker (restored in drawing) with five circular depressions round the side, of cream-coloured to pale buff clay, smoke-stained. Cf. S. p. 175, lxxiii, 182, in Belgic technique. (Pit 24, 7 ft. down.) **105**. Side fragment of beaker with carinated body and long sloping concave shoulder contracting to a slightly out-bent rim. In shape resembles no. 128 from same pit. Late Celtic survival of first-century date. (Pit 24.) **106**. Side fragment (restored in drawing) of flat dish with slightly out-bulged upright side and horizontally out-bent wide rim, of sandy reddish-grey to white clay,

smoke-stained. 1st-cent. type. (Pit 5, over 14 ft. down.) **107**. Side fragment of thick-sided carelessly thrown bowl or porringer. Greyish white sandy clay. (Pit 20.) **108**. Side fragment of shallow bowl, with out-curved side, and a groove on the inside lip. Clay nearly white charged with particles of fine black sand. Taken over from the simplest La Tène form of bowl,

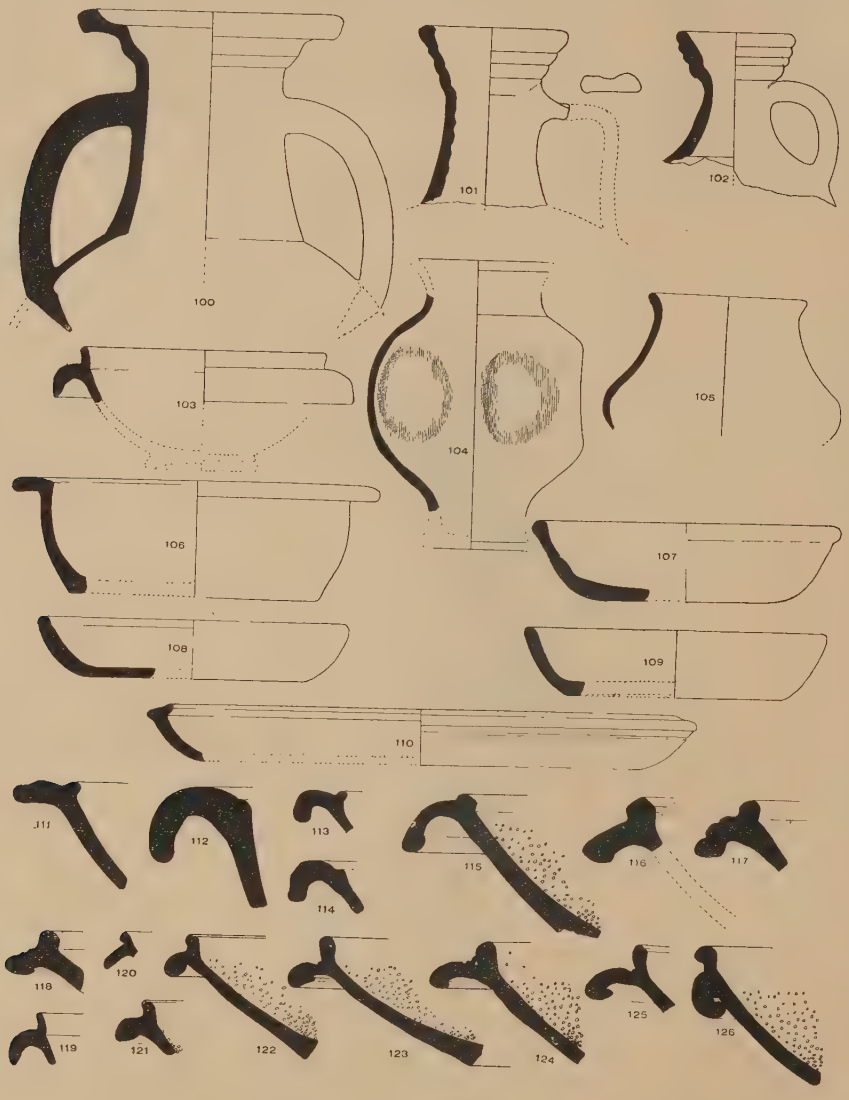


Fig. 14. White Clay Ware ($\frac{1}{4}$).

and of long survival. *Hofheim*, 1912, type 95; *Newstead*, type 32, A.D. 84–100; type 41, A.D. 140–80. **109**. Side fragment of similar type but without the inside groove. Soft light-drab to cream-coloured clay stained outside with smoke. Cf. S. p. 115, xlviii, 59. (V-ditch.) **110**. Side fragment (restored in drawing) of wide shallow dish with out-curved side and moulded rim projecting outside and inside. Close hard cream-coloured clay. Cf. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xxi, III, 36, dated about A.D. 1–50. (Under mortar floor.)

Rim-fragments of mortaria, **111–126**. **111**. Pale grey clay with darker surface. Horizontal

rimmed, 1st-cent. type. (Pit 8.) **112**. Type 2 b, diam. about 16½ in. Hard sandy cream-coloured clay, smoke-stained in parts. *Arch.* lxvi, p. 253, fig. 18, 4, late 1st cent.; S. p. 152, lxv, 129, 130. (Pit 11, 13 ft. down.) **113**, **114**. Hard pale-buff clay, type 2b. *Wroxeter*, 1, p. 76, fig. 19, type 22, A.D. 80–120. (The latter in Pit 24, 3 ft. down.) **115–118**. Coped type, S. p. 151, 2c, clay cream to white, 2nd to 4th-cent. types. **115**. (Corner of furnace, House III, 2 ft. 9 in. down.) **116**. (Pit 8.) **117**. (Pit 3.) **118**. (House II, by flue.) **119–125**. Flanged types, 3 a, S. p. 151, of cream to white clay, except **121** which is of reddish clay coated with white slip. **119**. (E. end of N. wall.) **121**. (20 ft. N. of Enclosure Wall in yard E.) **123**. (Stoke-hole of union-jack-shaped hypocaust.) **124**. (Below flint floor over Pit 6.) **125**. (Yard near N. wall.) **126**. Beaded rim and curled-in massive collar, Wroxeter type 94. *Wroxeter*, 1, fig. 19; S. p. 152, lxv, 132, 2nd cent. (Between Tuning-Fork Furnace and Enclosure Wall.) **122–124** have moulded and grooved flanges of New Forest and Sandford types.

BELGIC TERRA NIGRA, AND ALLIED WARES. **127–157**. Fig. 15.

The interest of the types is ethnographical as evidence of a Late Celtic survival and extension of Belgic influence along the Thames valley. This influence is strongly marked at Silchester both before and after the Roman occupation (S. p. 162), and the potters' stamps and types recorded below are clear proof of its extension to Hambleden.

127. Rim-fragment of wide-mouthed olla with flat surface on the inside of the out-curved rim, and two bands of diagonal incised lines between girth-grooves on shoulder. S. p. 167, lxx, 150–5; *Arch.* lxvi, G. P. O. site, fig. 15, no. 21, dated A.D. 70–100. (Trench 15 yds. NW. of House III.) **128**. Side fragment of beaker with widely extended carinated bulge and long sloping concave shoulder contracting to an out-bent rim. Hard sandy fumed grey clay smoothed in belts above the bulge. Late Celtic survival. S. p. 173, lxxii, 173; lxxvi, 2; lxxviii, 1, from pre-Roman pits 9, 10. (Pit 24, 15 ft. down.) **129**. Side fragment of large deep bowl with out-curved rim and carinated shoulder. Hard light-grey clay with darker surface. S. p. 187, lxxvii, 4, A.D. 1–50, goes back to Hofheim, types 115, 122, A.D. 40–83, and Haltern, type 94, to 11 B.C.–A.D. 9. (Pit 24, 11 ft. down.) **130**. Large wide-mouthed bowl or olla with out-curved rim, widely outbulged shoulder, beaded foot, and concave stand-plate. The bold torus moulding or cordon at the base of the neck is a Late Celtic survival, as well as the technique, the clay being brownish grey, coated with pasty slip and charged with white stone particles. These features render it one of the very earliest discoveries on the site, and most interesting from its evident origin in the imported prototypes discovered at Hengistbury Head (*Hengistbury Head*, p. 35, xviii, 21, 22, 28) of the Hallstatt or La Tène period. S. p. 191, lxxviii, 6; numerous other parallels of later date and smaller size and from sites south of the river Thames are there recorded. (V-ditch where intersected by a gravel-pit.) **131–138** are likewise derivatives from **130** and need not be separately described. They are all in Belgic technique—fumed grey body, clay-coated, with or without black varnish—except **138**, which is of light-brown clay polished in stripes and partly blackened and flaked off from the surface. **131**. (Fragment from V-ditch.) **132**. (Fragment from Hybrid Furnace.) **133**. (Pit 9, 12 ft. down.) **134**. Light-grey clay, decorated with a ½-in. wide black band round the neck, and radial strokes on the shoulder, below which it is carinated and grooved. (Pit 25.) **135**. Fragment with horizontally out-bent oval lip. **136**. Fragment with angular neck and middle groove. (Pit 10.) **137**. Small, and decorated with scored diagonal lines, girth-grooves in the middle and burnished zones. (Tuning-fork part of Hybrid Furnace.) **138**. Small and clumsily 'thrown', the cordon replaced by lightly incised lines. (Stoke-hole of Tuning-fork Furnace, with ashes.) **139**. Shoulder fragment of small olla with out-bent square-edged rim. Hard sandy pale-grey clay with darker coating. (Pit 24, 15 ft. down.) **140**. Shoulder fragment of bowl with nearly straight neck, a degeneracy of **130**. **141**. Shoulder fragment of olla with upright oval rim. Hard sandy reddish clay. (Pit 24, 3 ft. down.) **142**. Development of **130** under barbarous influence with squarish out-bent

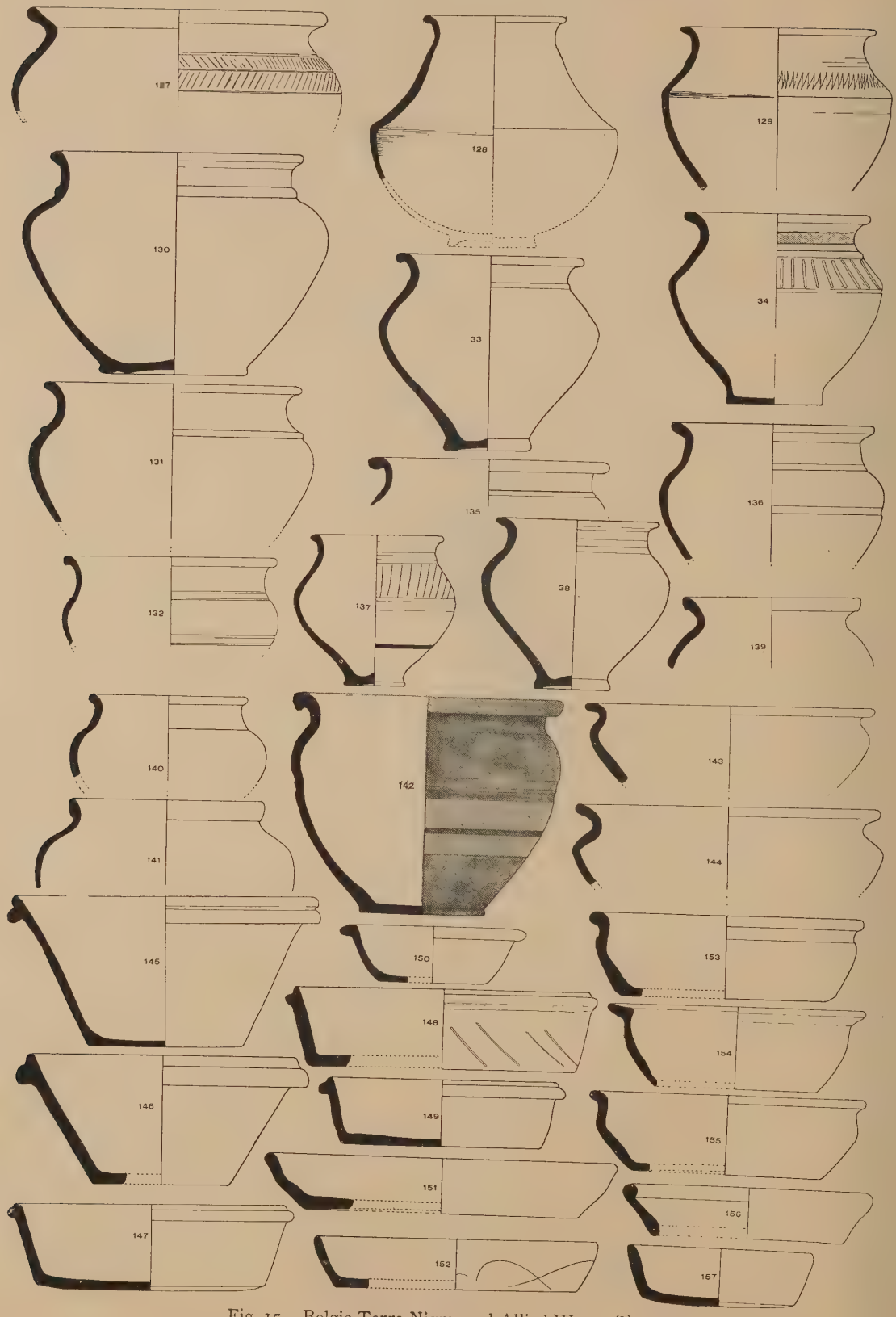


Fig. 15. Belgic Terra Nigra, and Allied Wares (¼).

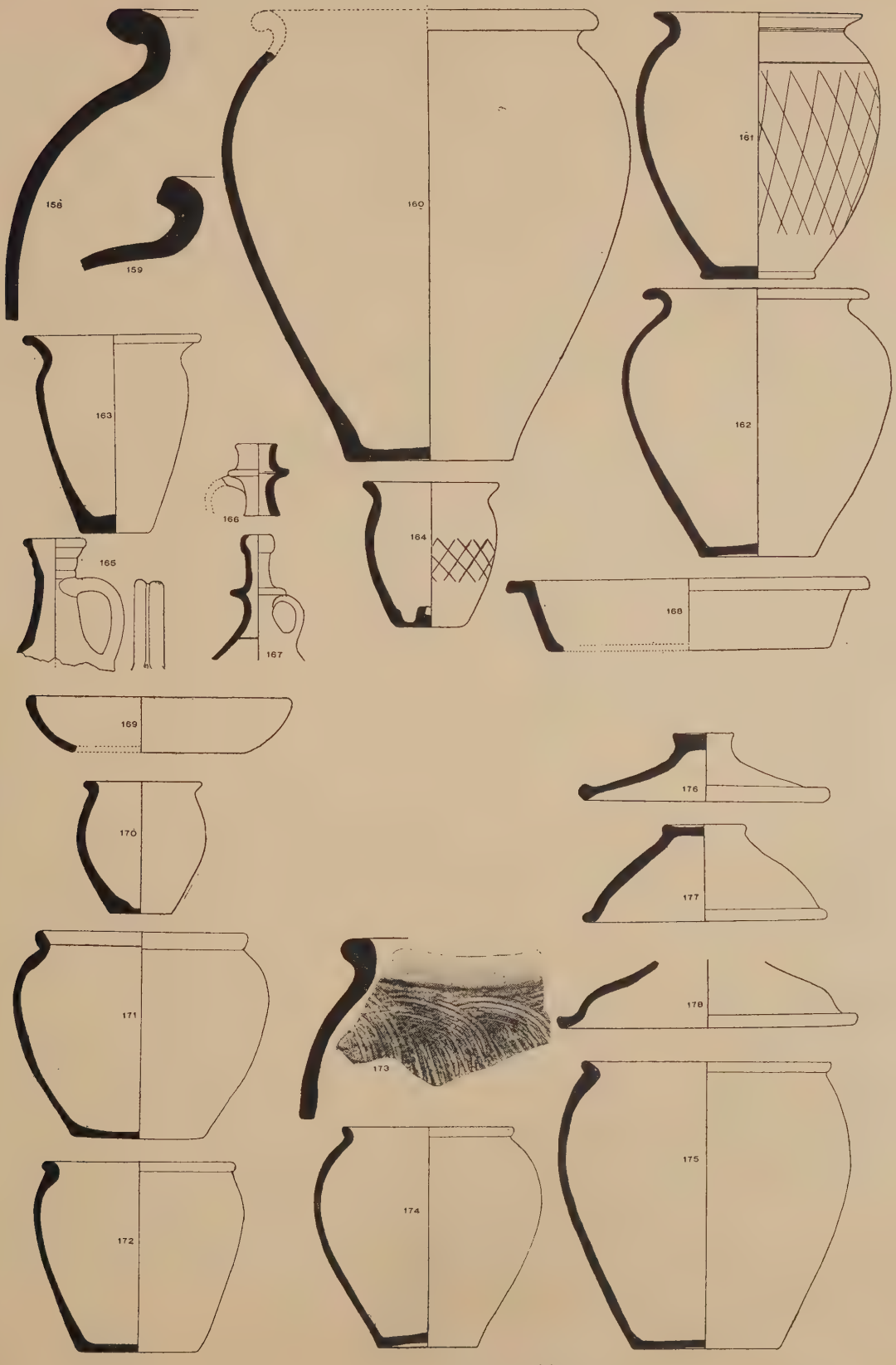


Fig. 16. Coarse Wares (¼).

rim, a countersunk cordon in the middle, and flat stand-plate, decorated with alternate zones of black bitumen and self-coloured pale-grey. A parallel example from Strood, Kent, is in Maidstone Museum. *Collect. Antiq.* i, p. 17. (Pit 1.) **143–144**. Side-fragments of wider and shallower bowls with similar S-shaped or swan-neck opening, black coated. (The former from Pit 18, the latter from the V-ditch.) **145**. Deep conical bowl expanding upwards, with stunted flange just below a bead lip. Hard light-grey clay. (85 ft. N., 2 ft. E. of Room P, House I.) **146**. Similar, with thicker flange, and from the same spot. Brown clay, black coated. Statistics of a large number of these bowls found during excavations in Cranborne Chase are given by Pitt-Rivers, *Cran. Chase*, vol. ii, p. 168, cxvi, figs. A–X, but are not very definite for dating. S. p. 161, lxvi, 201. **147–149**. Deep plates or porringers with flanged rims. Fumed grey clay, the former black coated. *Arch.* vol. lxvi, fig. 15, no. 38, from G. P. O. site, dated A.D. 70–100. **150**. Side-fragment of small bowl or saucer with horizontally out-bent rim. Fumed grey clay, black coated. (Pit 24.) **151**. Side-fragment (restored in drawing) of flat dish with slightly bent (carinated), obliquely outset side thickened towards the inside base, and concave stand-plate. Technique as last. Cf. Sumner, *Ancient Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 37, from waste heaps at Sloden. (Quern Hole.) **152**. Similar fragment of plate with straight obliquely outset side, scored with curved lines round the outside. Grey clay with burnished deep-black coating. Such plates were made at Sloden. Sumner, *Sloden*, pl. ii, 16, 18; in 4th cent. (Pit 8.) **153**. Side-fragment (restored in drawing) of shallow bowl with curved carelessly 'thrown' outset side, recessed below the lip, of similar technique to preceding. (Pit 20, at bottom.) **154**. Similar, with wide oblique rim. (Pit 24.) **155**. Like **153** but not recessed below lip. (V-ditch.) **156**. Similar fragment with straight side obliquely outset, beaded on the inside lip and thickened downwards. (V-ditch.) **157**. Saucer with straight side obliquely set and down-bulged stand-plate. S. p. 161, lxvi, 202; *Newstead*, p. 259, fig. 32, 10, A.D. 140–180. (Pit 1, SW. of House I.)

Coarse Wares. **158–178**. Fig. 16.

The majority are of large size and probably made not far from the site, but a few are of New Forest types, viz. **166**, **167**, **176**, **178**.

158. Upper half of large store vessel with plump oval slightly under-cut rim of Sandford pattern. Hard buff clay smoothed outside and black coated on outside of rim. Diam. about $14\frac{1}{4}$ in. at outside of rim, $19\frac{3}{4}$ in. at bulge. (Pit 24, 7 and 11 ft. down, and N. Cream-pan Furnace.) **159**. Rim of similar vessel with recurved, thickened square-edged lip. **160**. Whole body (rim wanting and restored in drawing conjecturally). Pale buff to white clay. In the absence of rim the date must remain uncertain, but the shape and proportions indicate early 2nd cent. **161**. Ovoid olla with recurved rim and beaded foot, scored round the bulge with a wide zone of latticed lines. Hard sandy pale-grey clay. (Between House I and entrance gate of Enclosure Wall.) Its width proportions indicate an Antonine date, between A.D. 140–90. **162**. Ovoid olla with out-curved rim and plump oval lip of Sandford pattern. The proportions indicate A.D. 100–150 as its probable date. (E. centre of yard.) **163**. Conoid olla with thickened stand-plate and widely out-curved rim partly overhanging the side. Hard sandy grey clay with traces of black coating. Contained hoard of 294 coins, see p. 190 (House II). Two of similar type containing 4th-cent. coins are recorded, S. p. 160, lxvi, *type* 197. Cf. *Ashley Rails*, p. 33, xi, 5. **164**. Small pipkin or beaker, carelessly 'thrown', with a socketed projection in the base, and a narrow zone of scored latticed lines round the middle. Sandy brown clay, black coated. (Pit 4.) The rough technique and meagre, partly obliterated decoration indicate a 4th-cent. date.

Flagons, **165–167**. **165**. Neck and handle of tile-red clay, uncoated, of late 1st-cent. type. *Wroxeter*, 1, fig. 15, type 2–3, dated A.D. 80–120. (Pit 24, 11 ft. down.) **166**. Top of neck and part of handle. Light-grey clay, with smooth darker-grey surface. *Ashley Rails*, p. 30, ix, 11, 13. (Pit 5.) **167**. Upper part with neck-ring. Pale-grey clay with dark-brown slip. Ashley Rails type, p. 30, ix, 13. (Yard, E.)

Dishes, **168**, **169**. **168**. Flat bowl or dish with straight oblique side and horizontally out-bent rim. Soft tile-red clay. Late 1st-cent. type. *Gellygaer*, x, 5. **169**. Another with out-curved side, thickening upwards. Hard light-red clay, coated with light-brownish red slime or slip.

Cooking-pots or ollae of Early British or Late Celtic Types, **170–175**. **170**. Pipkin carelessly thrown and thickened in the base angle. Sandy grey clay, black coated. (Pit 9, 8 ft. down.) **171**. About half of a thick-set olla (restored in drawing) with bead-rim flattened on the inside surface. Unwashed grey to black clay, mottled brown to black outside by cooking. (Pit 13.) **172**. Thick-set olla with bead-rim, 'pigeon-breasted' inside. Unwashed dirty grey to black clay mottled red outside. A Late Celtic survival into the first century to which many parallels may be cited. S. p. 182, lxxv, 7; *Hengistbury Head*, p. 45, xxii, 8, 9, xxiii, 10, etc. (Pit 13.) **173**. Upper part of large store vessel with out-bent, thickened, flat-topped rim, furrowed on the outside to within 2 in. from the lip, with a birch-besom or coarse wooden comb in an up-and-down and over-arched direction. Unwashed body clay coated with brownish slime or slip to receive the impressions. Examples of this description from the Aylesford grave-field are illustrated in *Arch.*, vol. lii, p. 315, ix, 8 (List, no. 10), dated 150–50 B.C. Others from Quarry Wood British Camp, Loose, by Maidstone, are in the Public Museum; from Late Celtic deposits at Maldon, Essex, in Colchester Museum, Fitch Collection, etc. (V-ditch.) **174**. Thick-set olla with bead-rim and concave stand-plate. Hard sandy grey clay with darker surface mottled with black. Proportions indicate the second half of 1st cent. (Yard, N. of House III.) **175**. Thick-set hand-made cooking-pot with bead-rim pigeon-breasted on the inside, and stand-plate slightly concave. Unwashed dark grey clay mottled reddish to black by smoky fire. Of similar type to **172** preceding. (Pit 13.)

Coned pot-lids with beaded or out-curved tops for holding, **176–178**. **176**. Clay dull grey to buff with thin coating of black. *Ashley Rails*, p. 35, xii, 3; *Arch.*, vol. lxvi, p. 252, fig. 16, no. 51, A.D. 70–100. (Pit 25.) **177**. May have been used as a saucer. Hard sandy grey clay smoothed outside only. (Pit 13.) **178**. Thickened lip, curved top (handle wanting); may have been a saucer. Hard sandy grey clay with traces of black coating. *Ashley Rails*, p. 35, xii, 1. (V-ditch at Gravel Pit.)

It is impossible in the space available to mention all the better known figures on Terra Sigillata bowls of Drag. form 37; but to omit all record of the following would render the report valueless. The number of Déchelette's figure is prefixed to each. 52. Apollo with lyre. Here more perfect impressions than Déchelette's model; on a bowl restored nearly complete, not later than Antonine period; and on a second bowl having the stamp REP (see p. 187), date between A.D. 130–180. 55. Apollo with bunch of bay. 175. Venus, twisting her hair. 184. Venus, *l.* arm rests on pillar. 187. Venus with 'peplum', seated on pedestal. 236. Cupid. 358. Satyr, very similar, but perhaps not identical. 455. Small fig. of Hercules. 475. Victory, standing. 694. Mask of Pan. 805. Leopard or lioness couchant, alternately to *r.* and *l.* 847. Stag couchant *r.* very similar, but probably not identical. 1018. Bird. 1068. Delphic tripod. 1105. Gaulish hexagonal shield. 1161. Double leaf. 1180. Rosette, very slightly smaller than Déch.

Bearded man, in mantle, shoulders bare, not in Déch.

A globular bottle 11 in. high, neck missing, by 13 in. maximum diameter; the fir-tree pattern round shoulder. (Pit 25.) A large olla complete, very similar to no. 158, but uniformly smooth black, with distinct neck, *c.* 0·4 of an inch high, and a lozenge pattern round the shoulder, composed of double lines; 2 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; diameter outside rim 1 ft. $4\frac{1}{8}$ in.; maximum diameter outside at bulge 1 ft. $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. Base plain, $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter. (Pit 17.)

Letters on Coarse Pottery.

COS..
Raised letters *en barbotine* outside vessel of uncertain form, with small remains of ornaments in tile-red clay with darker slip. Fig. 17. Yard, E. or mortar floor.

IALXXX·I S·
On base of 31, tile-red clay, brown-red slip. Yard.

IXIIXII
Small flat base; ? Belgic. Pit 8, 14 ft. down.

INIMVI
Brick-red fragment. Pit 22, 3 ft. down.

VIDV?
Light brick-red saucer. Pit 24, 8 ft.–11 ft. down; with BIGAIII.

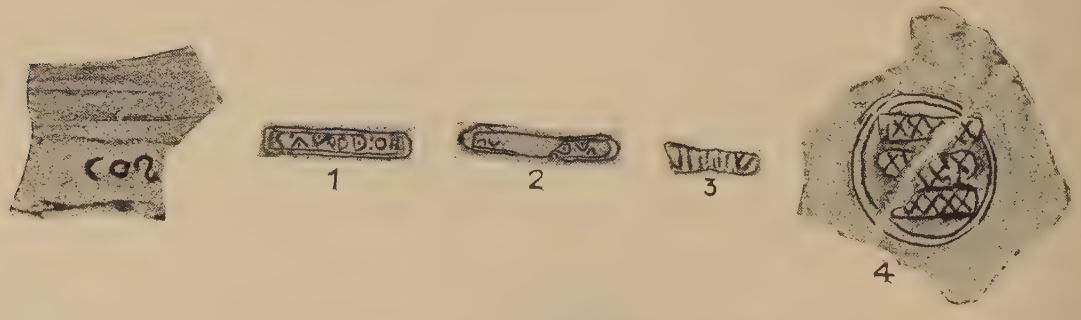


Fig. 17. Potters' Stamps on Coarse Pottery and on Belgic Ware (⅝).

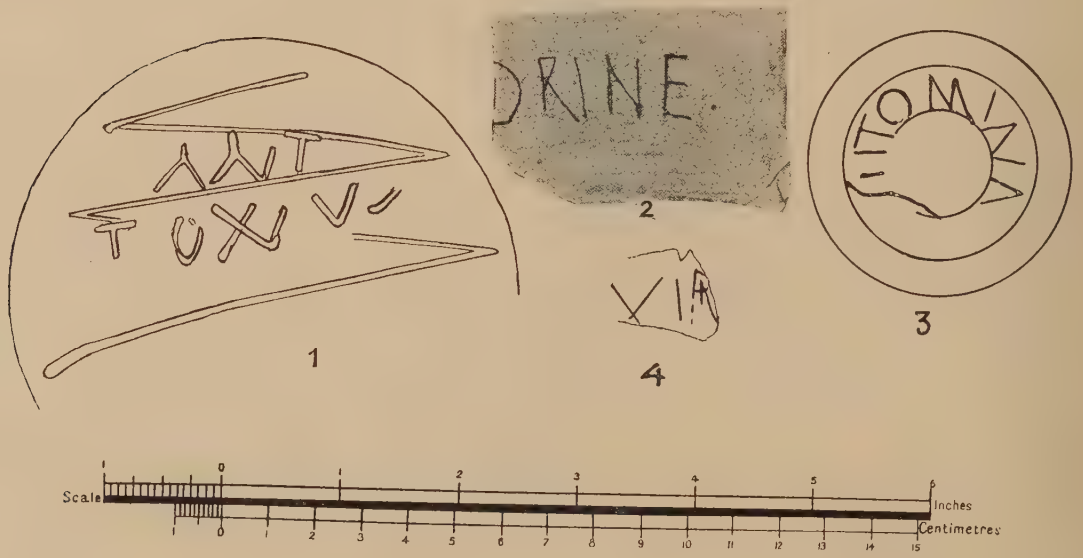


Fig. 18. Graffiti.

Potters' Stamps on Belgic Ware. Fig. 17.

CAVED:OI:
On inside base of bowl; probably had black coating. Pit 14, 27 ft. N. of House III.

Imitation
A series of small semicircles alternately reversed on footplate of tile-red clay with red-brown slip. Pit 23.

Illegible
Inside a footplate.

Imitation
Five crosses to imitate letters stamped three times in a circle on a bowl or platter. 15 ft. NE. of angle of Enclosure Wall.

Graffiti. Fig. 18.

ANT / IOXVVS? = ANTONIVS	Scratched before baking on outside base of a saucer.
...ORINE	Outside platter. Pit 1.
R	Scratched on bottom of a T.S. Drag. 27 with stamp CVCALI·M. Quern hole; p. 186.
SETOMINA	On under-base of vessel with foot-ring. W. of N. Cream-pan Furnace.
VIR...	On fragment of light-brown ware. Quern hole.

Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata.

Locality of Potter.[1]	*Stamp.*	*Form.*	*Find-spot and References.*	*Date.*
L	[A]DVOC[ISI]	30	70 ft. N. of House III. O.–P. 61; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 43; 10011, 29, 143	117–90
	ADV...	33	House III, W. end of N. wall	
L?	AETE[RNI] (retro)	31	Do. S. 201; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 52	
L	ALBVCIOF	27	Pit 9, 6 and 12 ft. down. S. 201; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 85; 10011, 31, 146	110–90
L	ATIANI·M	31	Pit 3, 7 ft. 6 in. down. *P.S.A.* xxii, 408; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 194; 10011, 33	160–90
	Do.	33	80 ft. N. of Enclosure Wall	
	.....IANI	79	Probably same potter	
L	BELSA·F	33	Pit 9, 9 ft. down. *P.S.A.* xxii, 408; S. 206; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 287, 288	160–90
La Grau.	BIGAIII	Large 27	Pit 24, 11–12 ft. down. O.–P. 59, S. 207; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 293	98–138
Gaul	BISSVNI (retro)	33?	80 ft. N. of House III. *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 314	
	BVTVRO	33	E. of S. Cream-pan Furnace. *Arch.* lxvi, 256; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 374	2nd cent.
	CATASEXTVS	31	Pit 22, 2 ft. down, Pan rock type. *P.S.A.* xxii, 408; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 483	160–90[2]
	CATVLLIM	33	40 ft. N. of House III, 2 ft. down. *P.S.A.* xxii, 408	160–90
L?	CELSIOM (ivy-leaf stop)	33	Pit 8, 4 ft. 6 in. down. *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 523 e	
L or E. Gaul	CINT[VSMI]	18	Pit 10, 1 ft. 6 in. down. *P.S.A.* xxii, 408; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 573	160–90
„	[CINT]VSMIM	33	Pits 10 and 11	
„	[CINTVS]MIX	27	Between Blocks VIII and IX N. of W. end, NW. wall, 2 ft. down. S. 214	110–40
„?	CIRR[VSF]	27	Pit 12. *P.S.A.* xxii, 409; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 578–80	160–90
R	[COMIT]IALIS (partner of REP q.v.)	Small fragment	Chalk floor N. of N. Cream-pan Furnace	160–95
B and Trèves	CRICIRO·OF	18/31	Between Pit 10 and mortar floor, 2 ft. down. S. 217; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 702	175–225
?L	CROBISOM	33	14 ft. N. of House III. O.–P. 213; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 711	2nd cent.

[1] Abbreviations: L = Lezoux; B = Banassac; La Grau. = La Graufesenque; R = Rheinzabern.

[2] Mr. D. Atkinson in *Cat. Rom. Pottery in Tullie House, Carlisle*, p. 65, note, states that some authorities hold that this date for the Pudding-pan Rock pottery is too late, and that its period is rather 150 or even 140–90.

Locality of Potter.[1]	*Stamp.*	*Form.*	*Find-spot and References.*	*Date.*
Gaul	CVCALI[M]	27	Quern hole, 1 ft. down. S. 217; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 716; R scratched on bottom	
? L	DIVICATVS	18/31	Yard, E. S. 219; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 788	140–80
	[DIVIC]ATVS	? 27 Small	V ditch (probably same potter)	
Gaul	FIRMI[M]	33?	6 ft. W. of Hybrid Furnace. O.–P. 277; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 901	70–96
La Grau.	Ⓕ FRO...	18/31,	50 ft. S. of Cream-pan Furnace, 1 ft. 6 in. down	
	Do.	33	Yard, E.	
S. Gaul	GAL·A	27	45 ft. N. of Enclosure Wall, 1 ft. 6 in. down	70–100
L	G·E·N[·I·T·O·R·F]	31	Yard, W. of Pit 3. *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 960; *P.S.A.* xxii, 403	160–90
L	IVLL[INI] (retro)	37	House I, Room A, west side. S. 227; *P.S.A.* xxii, 403	160–90
	LITTERAF	33	Pit 9, 2 ft. 6 in. down. S. 229; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1150; with APNV	100–50
E. Gaul	LVCIVSHIFC	31	14 ft. E. of Pit 6, 1 ft. 6 in. down. *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1173	
? L	[M]ACCIRILA·F	Small	(Also read MACCIRRAF.) O.–P. 214; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1198	
L	MAC....	18?	Pit 4, 10 ft. down	
R	MAGIOF	31, Lud. S b	N. of Yard, 1 ft. 6 in. down. *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1224	138–61
? La Grau.	MARCVITI (retro) or MASVITI	Small / 33	(Also read MANSVETI) Pit 5, 13 ft. 6 in. down	
? Lavoye	MARTIVS M	32	Pit 3, 3 ft. down. S. 235; O.–P. 119; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1286	102–30
	MART··IF	32	Pit 4	
L	MVXTVLIM	33	V-ditch. S. 240; O.–P. 63; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1398	140–90
L	NAM[IL]·CR[OESI]	27?	Pit 18. S. 241; O.–P. 119; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1404	160–90
	NOBILIANIM	33	Pit 16. S. 242; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1436	2nd cent.
L	PATERCLINIOF	33?	6 ft. W. of Hybrid Furnace, 1 ft. 6 in. down. S. 244; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1502	140–90
	PATER....	18?	E. of Block VIII, NW. of NW. wall, 2 ft. down. Different stamp	
La Grau.	[OFPAT]RC (Patricius)	33	Pit 11, 13 ft. down	69–96
L	P···RICIMA	18/31	NE. corner of Well Shed	98–138
	[PAT]RICI·M	31	(Possibly same potter.) Pit 24, 12 ft. down. S. 246; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1511	
E. Gaul?	PECVLIA·RISF	complete 33	Pit 9, 9 ft. down. S. 247; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1521	Before 150
La Grau.	OI·PONTI	27	Pit 17, 4 ft. down. *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1545	Before 80
L	PRIMVLI	18	15 ft. E. of edge of Pit 6. O.–P. 15	69–79
	PRIVATIM	complete 38	Pit 15, 6 ft. down. S. 250; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1579	140–80
L	QVINTIIM (retro)	33	Yard, E. *P.S.A.* xxii, 409; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1607	160–90
	REBVRRI·	33	On chalk floor between N. and S. Cream-pan Furnaces. *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1614	138–92

[1] Abbreviations: L = Lezoux; B = Banassac; La Grau. = La Graufesenque; R = Rheinzabern.

Locality of Potter.[1]	*Stamp.*	*Form.*	*Find-spot and References.*	*Date.*
R	REP (retro)	37	Pit 4, near surface, and Yard. O.–P. 34; *C.I.L.* vii, 1337, 1358	117–90
La Grau.	SACRILLI·M	33	19 ft. N. of Enclosure Wall. O.–P. 122; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 1698; *P.S.A.* xxii, 403	160–90
L.	SILVANI	27	V-ditch. *Newstead*, 241, S. 261	54–70
Gaul	TEÐÐIL·F	33	Pit 16. *Wroxeter*, iii, 46 (233 A)	
E. Gaul or R	VIDVC*VSF*	18/31	Yard, W. O.–P. 61, S. 267; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 2040	90–110
	.... *VSF*	Small fragment	5 ft. E. of Pit 6	
E. Gaul or R	VIMPVS	31	Top of Pit 2. *Hedd. Mitteil.* iv. 21; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10010, 2044	100–60

I have to thank Mr. A. G. K. Hayter, F.S.A., for much assistance in the compilation of this list.

Mutilated and Uncertain Stamps.

Stamp.	*Form.*	*Find-spot and Remarks.*
.ASS...	18?	Pit 17, 4 ft. down
AS..	33	Pit 16
AS...IL°IM	Large 33	On mortar floor. ? Stamp of Asiaticus
....ATER	27?	Near NE. angle of Enclosure Wall
DE....	27	Pit 16, 3½ ft. down
Do.	31	Pit 24, 12 ft. down
FE....	33	Pit 25, 2 ft. down
.....M	31	Pit 5, *c.* 3 ft. 6 in. down
MV	Small	
..NETIIM.	Early form	NW. of NW. wall
OC...	27	Pit 11
OF/	Small	NW. of NW. wall
OFC...	Small flake	45 ft. S. of 3rd House, 2 ft. down
R...	Small	Pit 7
..INV‘	Flat plate	? Stamp of Verinus
....SF	33	Pit 16, 2½ ft. down
....SF (larger lettering than last)	Thick flat fragment	Yard, E. of Pits 3 and 4
VES....	33	In E. circular block, E. end of N. wall of Yard
VICI...	Exceptionally small 33	Yard, surface. ? Stamp of Victor or Victorinus
.WII..	18	Pit 5, 11 ft. down. ? [MA]MMI
....IMA	31	Pit 4, 5 ft. down
....IMI	33	12 ft. W. of Pit 20
...INIM	33	NW. wall, 3 ft. down
...IVA..	33?	Pit 5, 9 ft. down
...LLI..	Large 31	Outside S. wall of Annexe, 2 ft. down
/‘V†M	Small	V-ditch
...VLIM	27	E. Enclosure Wall, 80 ft. N. of wicket
...V A	31	Pit 22, 2 ft down
MAMA	31	12 ft. S. of Pit 6, 1½ ft. down
MAR··IF	Fragment 32?	Pit 4
.IXXIN	18	Pit 23

[1] Abbreviations; L = Lezoux; B = Banassac; La Grau. = La Graufesenque; R = Rheinzabern.

Stamp.	*Form.*	*Find-spot and Remarks.*
LLIIA·X'	33	NW. of NW. wall
ꟻW	33	Yard, N
IAI	33	Pit 9
APN^{V}	18	With LITTERA·F. Pit 9, 2½ ft. down
Rosette of 8 petals		*c.* 26 ft. S. of SE. corner of 3rd House, 2 ft. down
Part of open-work rosette stamp	31	Pit 9, 12 ft. down

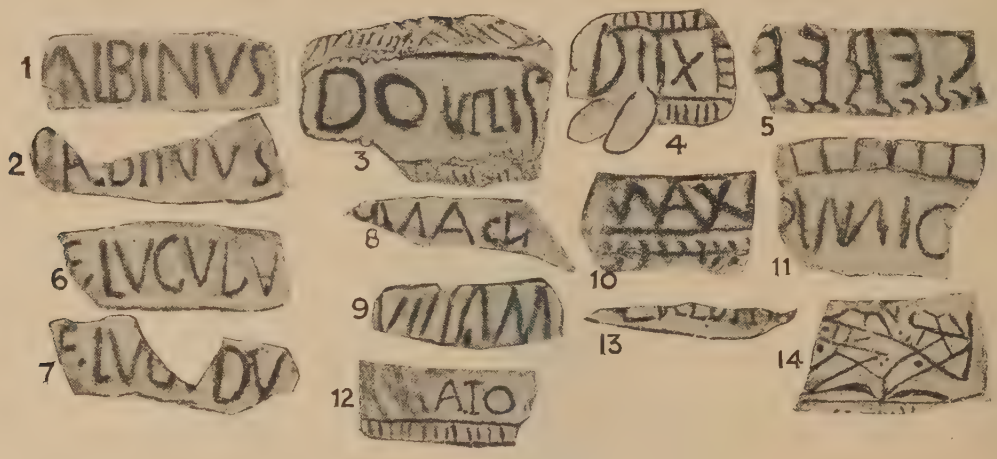


Fig. 19. Potters' stamps on Mortaria (⅛).

Potters' Stamps on Mortaria. Fig. 19.

Potter.	*Find-spot; References and Remarks.*	*Date.*
ALBINVS	One of four potters who worked at Lyons. *Wroxeter*, i, 66, and fig. 16, i	80–110
ALBINVS	*B. M. Cat.*, liv, M 2766–70; S. 275. 75 ft. N. of Enclosure Wall	
DOCILIS	Type 2 b. V-ditch	
DVX	With impress of hoof of small pig. 6 yds. W. of N. Cream-pan Furnace	
FEC...		
GERFE (retro)	E. of Tuning-fork Furnace	
F·LVGVDV	85 ft. N. of Enclosure Wall. } Potters who worked at Lyons were	80–110
F·LVCVDV	W. of NW. wall. } Albinus, Liber, Ripanus, and Urbanus	
MACN	Yard, E. of Pit 3	
MANV?	Two fragments. 9 ft. W. of N. Cream-pan; 1½ ft. down; and Pit 20, 14 ft. 7 in. down. *B. M. Cat.* M 2790; *Arch.* lxvi, 254, fig. 18, no. 6. G.P.O. site	
MAX	Type 2 b. Pit 5, 10 ft. or more down. *B. M. Cat.*, p. 431	
..MIC (retro)	Type 2 b. V ditch	
...ATO..	Type 2 b, also at Corbridge, Wilderspool, and Templeborough (5 times). 6 ft. NE. of block VIII, N. of W. end of NW. wall, 2 ft. down	
Mutilated and uncertain	Type 2 b. 39 ft. N. of NE. corner of Enclosure Wall	
Arbitrary trade-mark	Type 2 b. Quern hole	
Do.	12 ft. W. of 3rd House	

APPENDIX V

THE COINS. By Mill Stephenson, Esq., F.S.A.

The coins found on the site, inclusive of a hoard of 294 Constantine pieces, number over 800, and range from Claudius (41–54) to the end of the Roman occupation in the fifth century. There is, however, a gap of about fifty years between Septimius Severus (193–211) and Gallienus (253–68). The greater number of the coins is of late date, at which time the settlement, like so many similar ones in Britain, appears to have been most prosperous, but an earlier occupation of the site is proved by the coins ranging from Claudius to Septimius Severus. From the time of Gallienus to the end, coins are plentiful, and the large number of minimi and small imitations shows that the settlement may have gone on for some time after the withdrawal of the Roman power. The most noticeable of the coins are curious local ones of Claudius, of the Pallas type, probably struck in Gaul, of which no fewer than five were found (besides one genuine). Most of the coins are in a bad state of preservation, but one, a Hadrian of the 'galley type', is in absolutely perfect condition with a fine green patina.

A single British bronze coin was found close outside the S. wall of the 2nd House. *Obv.* Remains of head. *Rev.* A horse, wheel above. Two of 17th-cent. silver, James VI of Scotland, 8th of a mark, struck in 1601 or 1602; and a copper farthing of Charles II, date illegible.

List of Emperors, with Dates, and Numbers of Coins.

Claudius I, 41–54	6	Constantius I, 292–306	1
Nero, 54–68	3	Helena, first wife of Constantius	10
Vespasian, 69–79	5	Theodora, second wife of Constantius	3
Domitian, 81–96	5	Constantine I, 307–37	34
Nerva, 96–8	2	„ II, 317–40	10
Trajan, 98–117	8	Constans, 333–50	10
Hadrian, 117–38	10	Constantius II, 323–61	20
Sabina, wife of Hadrian	1	Magnentius, 350–3	3
Antoninus Pius, 138–61	8	Julian II, 360–3	1
Faustina I, wife of Antoninus	1	Valentinian I, 364–75	5
Marcus Aurelius, 161–80	2	Valens, 364–78	15
Faustina II, wife of Aurelius	3	Gratian, 375–83	8
Commodus, 180–92	1	Valentinian II, 375–92	3
Septimius Severus, 193–211	1	Theodosius, 379–95	9
Julia Soemias, mother of Elagabalus	1	Magnus Maximus, 383–8	1
Julia Mammaea, mother of Severus	1	Arcadius, 383–408	4
Gallienus, 253–68	19	Worn and corroded	143
Salonina, wife of Gallienus	1	Worn out, broken, and defaced	62
Postumus, 258–68	2		518
Victorinus, 265–8	12	Hoard of Constantine Period	294
Tetricus I, 268–73	26	Minimi found since	3
„ II, „ „	9	Total of Roman Coins	815
Claudius II (Gothicus), 268–70	26	British	1
Aurelian, 270–5	3	Modern	2
Diocletian, 284–305	1	Total	818
Carausius, 287–93	12		
Allectus, 293–6	7		

Hoard.

Hoard of 294 bronze coins found in a small black pot (fig. 16, no. 163), on the inside of the N. wall of the cottage built on to the W. end of the 2nd House, buried below the floor, and covered with two or three pieces of tile and brick, 15 ft. E. of the W. corner of the house. An ivory pin appeared to have fastened a cloth over the mouth of the jar before it was laid on its side in the shallow space under the floor, and this having eventually decayed, allowed some of the coins to slide out of the jar as we found them on 25th April 1912.

The hoard consists almost entirely of coins of the Constantine family, and is a good example of the hoards of this period. Of the 205 coins of Constantine I, no fewer than 173 are of the SOLI INVICTO COMITI type. Although containing no novelty, the hoard is of considerable interest, as most of the coins are in excellent preservation owing to many of them having been washed with silver or tin. The Emperors or Caesars represented are :

Tetricus I	2	Maximinus II	10
„ II	2	Licinius I	36
Claudius II	1	„ II	1
Maximianus Hercules	3	Constantine I	205
Carausius	1	Crispus	17
Allectus	1	Constantine II, as Caesar	13
Constantius I, as Caesar	1		294
Galerius Maximianus	1		

With the exception of six of the larger bronze coins known as *folles*, the hoard consists entirely of the small bronze coins generally named 'third brass'. The majority are from the London mint which is represented by 178 specimens, Trèves follows with 74, Lyons with 17, Arles with 10, Ostia with 2, and Rome and Tarraco with one each. The latest coins in the hoard are those of Constantine II, struck between the years 317, when he was created Caesar, and 337, when he succeeded his father as Augustus. All these coins are of the London mint, of the fifth, sixth, and seventh issues, i. e. between 317–26 according to Jules Maurice's *Numismatique Constantinienne*. The date of the burial of the pot and coins may therefore be placed as somewhere between these dates. Mr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of the Coins and Medals, British Museum, has very kindly looked over the coins and checked the mint marks.

APPENDIX VI

REPORT ON THE BROOCHES. By Reginald A. Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

Fig. 20. From centre of yard N. of House III.

Brooch originally in one piece, developed from La Tène III type. Two coils on either side of the head, and chord passing under the bow, which is flattened and tapers to the catch-plate. L. 2 in.

About 37 specimens and fragments may be referred to this type, including 8 of iron: it was by far the commonest on the site, and belongs to the first century A.D., probably to the latter part. Though it shows little or no Roman influence, it is well known in association with Roman types, and with slight modifications survived into the third century.

Fig. 21. Found 12 ft. E. of Pit 8, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep.

Brooch with pale green patina, complete in one piece, development of La Tène III type. Two coils on either side of the head, and chord below the bow: the bow thickened and

flattened, rising vertically from the spring, and grooved longitudinally. The catch-plate is relatively long and terminates in a knob. L. 1·9 in.

Though derived from a common type this is a distinct variety, and dates from the late first century of our era. Other specimens may be quoted from:

Wroxeter (*3rd Report*, pl. xv, fig. 1, p. 22).

Cirencester, Silchester, and Newstead, in each case from the early settlement (Curle, *Newstead*, pl. cxxxv, 1).

Lowbury Hill, Berks. (D. Atkinson, *Romano-British Site on Lowbury Hill*, pl. vii, fig. 1).

Heddernheim, near Frankfurt (Riese in *Mitt. über Röm. Funde in H.*, part ii, pl. iii, fig. 49).

Neuss (Novaesium), *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 112, pp. 393, 394, pl. xxiv, fig. 39, dated A.D. 70–105.

Hofheim (Ritterling, pl. ix, nos. 169–75, p. 125).

Almgren, *Fibelformen*, p. 106.

Fig. 22. Found 1 ft. deep in Pit 15.

Brooch with three coils on either side of the head.

An exterior chord held by a catch on the bow: small flat spring-cover grooved transversely. The bow has a circular section and is harp-shaped, the catch-plate having two round holes. L. 1·5 in.

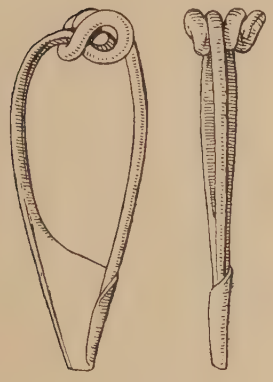


Fig. 20.

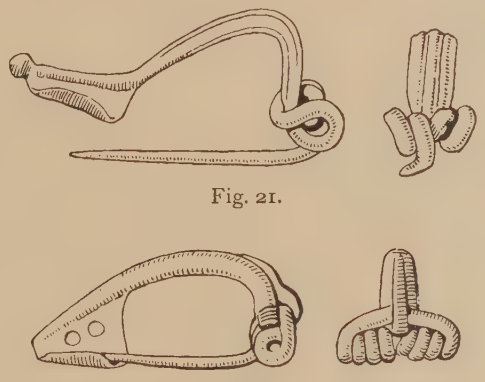


Fig. 21.

Fig. 22.

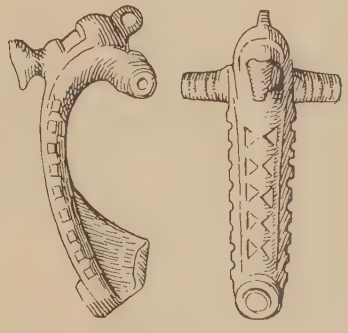


Fig. 23.

Six specimens and one pierced catch-plate referable to this type were found, and the date should be a little before one from Wroxeter (*3rd Report*, 23, pl. xv, fig. 5) which was in a pit dating from the late first or early second century.

Fig. 23. Found 6 ft. south of centre of House III.

Solid bronze brooch with cylindrical spring-cover transversely grooved but empty, the pin having been hinged at the middle of it. At the head an animal figure facing towards the bow, its tail forming a ring for attaching chain (probably one of a pair of brooches). The bow is notched along both edges and has a row of lozenges with traces of enamel: concentric rings in relief at the end above the catch-plate, pin missing. L. 1·7 in.

A similar brooch with less pronounced relief is figured from Heddernheim (*Römische Funde in H.*, vol. iii, p. 90), and attributed to the Flavian period. Another was recently found at Templeborough near Rotherham; and two are in the British Museum, from Folkestone and Lothbury, London.

Fig. 24. Found at NW. corner of E. furnace, House III, nearly 4 ft. deep.

Tin-plated hinged brooch, pin missing. The bow depressed, upper half deeply grooved longitudinally with two lateral knobs, the lower half tapering to terminal knob. L. 1·9 in.

This belongs to what may be called the Hod Hill type, the hinged form with longitudinal or transverse grooves and sometimes lateral projections being the commonest in the camp, and only approached in number by the penannulars. A few are figured by Roach Smith in *Coll. Antiq.*, vol. vi, pl. iii and *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iii, 97; and in referring to the camp in *Coll. Antiq.* iii, 10, he states that not one of the coins dug up there is later than the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54); but a list given in *Arch. Journ.*, lvii, 65 includes two of Nero and Trajan. Hence the date indicated for the brooch-type is the middle of the first century. A specimen from Windisch, near Brugg, Switzerland, is figured by Hauser, *Vindonissa*, pl. xxi. Only one was found in the Romano-British village at Rotherley, Wilts. (Pitt-Rivers, vol. ii, pl. c, fig. 5).

Fig. 25. Found 1½ ft. deep E. of yard, 25 ft. N. of Enclosure Wall.

Brooch with raised enamelled centre, and milled edges, with six circular projections at the angles, ornamented with concentric rings: hinge and catch-plate below, but pin missing. The triangular sections at each end are filled with yellow enamel, the two rectangular sections with blue, the circular insertions having been red enamel. L. 1·7 in.

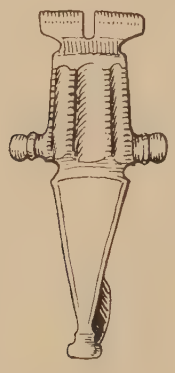


Fig. 24.

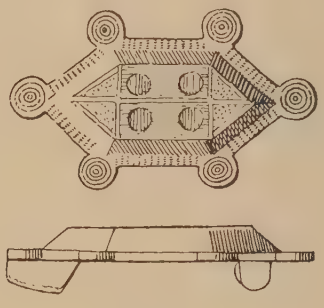


Fig. 25.

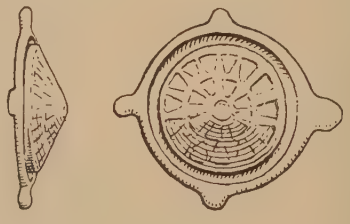


Fig. 26.

Two pointed oval brooches in the same style are figured in colours by Bequet, *La Bijouterie chez les Belges*, pl. i, fig. 9, and pl. ii, fig. 16, the same circular projections appearing also on an oblong specimen (pl. ii, fig. 15). All are attributed to the second century.

Fig. 26. Found 2½ ft. deep, House III, 6 ft. S. of N. wall.

Brooch with depressed conical centre once enamelled, and raised border with four projections: hinged pin at back, but catch-plate missing. The triangular sinkings for the enamel retain traces of red, yellow, and blue. L. 1·3 in.

This is a fairly common type of enamelled brooch, and seems to have been distributed from a common centre, as local variations are not observable. One was found at Wroxeter (*1st Report*, 27, fig. 10, no. 9) with two coins of Vespasian, hence probably about A.D. 100; another dated between Domitian (A.D. 82–96) and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80) was found at Camelon, near Falkirk (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. 35, 405, pl. A, fig. 2); and others are preserved from Newstead (Curle, *op. cit.*, 331, pl. lxxxix, fig. 20), Traprain Law, Haddingtonshire (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xlix, 167, fig. 23, no. 5); Templeborough, near Rotherham; London, Westmorland, Surrey (Farley Heath), and Colchester, the last four being in the British Museum. Specimens from Ixworth and Pakenham, Suffolk, are illustrated by Roach Smith in *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv, pl. xxv, figs. 5 and 8; and another from Weeting, Norfolk, is in Sir Wm. Ridgeway's collection (*Early Age of Greece*, i, 588, fig. 144). One was found in the Gipping valley at Ipswich in 1918; a good example from Verulam was in Sir John Evans's

collection; and one from Silchester is figured in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i, 147, fig. 3, and xvi, 94, fig. 2. Vol. v, p. 334 figures an unusually large one (1·8 in. diam.) found near Chester.

Fig. 27. Found 2 ft. deep, N. of fifth detached block N. of W. end of NW. wall.

Brooch with trumpet-shaped head, moulded bow, and finial above catch-plate. The pin is coiled between two lugs, and held by an iron rivet. L. 1.7 in.

This is almost a duplicate of one found at Wroxeter (*2nd Report*, 13, fig. 4, no. 5), said to be about A.D. 150 or a little earlier; another was found at Lowbury Hill, Berks. (Atkinson, *op. cit.*, pl. x, fig. 52). It seems to be a form of the harp type, which latter is known to date from the first half of the second century; and the flatness of the moulding inside the bow marks the present specimen as later than those with the circular moulding or collar in that position.

Fig. 28. Found 2 ft. deep in V-drain.

Tin-plated hinged brooch, the pin missing. The long flat bow has a transverse rib at the head, and expands at the foot, with a slight gable towards the head. L. 1.6 in.

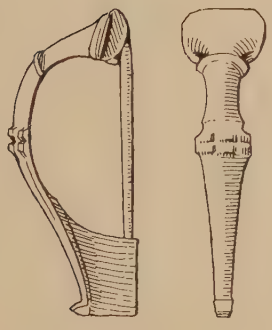


Fig. 27.

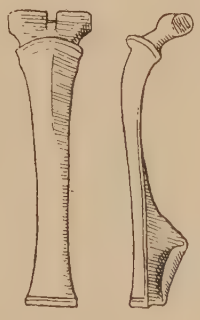


Fig. 28.

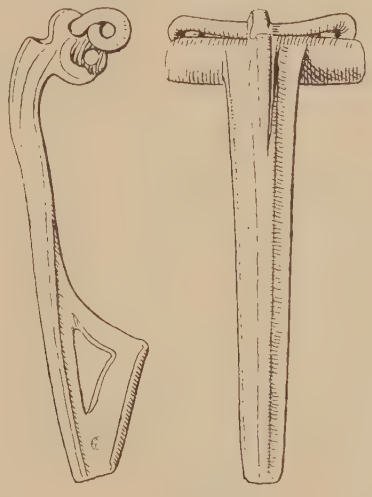


Fig. 29.

This is an exceptional form, probably a late descendant of a type with marked profile found at Hofheim, the date of which site is generally considered A.D. 40–60. Ritterling's figs. 165–8 are suggestive in this connexion, though three changes must, on this theory, have taken place in the interval:—the bilateral spring has been replaced by a simple hinge; the gable has been shifted from the lower to the upper half of the bow; and the transverse moulding has moved nearer the head. An interval of twenty or thirty years might suffice for these modifications, and fig. 28 may thus be referred to the close of the first century. This is confirmed by the prevalence of tinning, as on the type best represented in Britain at Hod Hill, about A.D. 50.

Fig. 29. Found 1 ft. 8 in. deep at E. end of yard, N. of House III.

Massive brooch with long spring-coil and exterior chord held by a catch on the head, which also bears a semi-cylindrical spring-cover. The bow has a rib at the head, and a raised moulding throughout its length: the catch-plate has a triangular opening. The central portion of the coil and pin are missing. L. 2·6 in.

Two more specimens, more slender, and 1.8 in. long, were also found on the site, and all probably date from the late first century, being allied to one figured from Wroxeter (*3rd*

Report, 23, pl. xv, fig. 6). Though the open catch-plate is an early feature, the pin-catch on the head is becoming part of the ornamentation, and is no longer merely functional.

Other specimens, not illustrated but worthy of description in detail, are the following:

Brooch similar to fig. 29, but with semicircular bow, triangular opening in catch-plate, and chord of spring caught up on the head, with long spiral complete. There were four similar, two more in fragments, and two also of iron: nine of the type in all.

Lozenge-shaped brooch, 2 in. long, once enamelled, with projections from each angle, the two end projections having loops on either side: these were sometimes transformed into animal heads; and a specimen without any projections is figured in colours by Bequet, *La Bijouterie chez les Belges* (Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur, vol. xxiv), pl. ii, fig. 17, where it is attributed to the second century. Another with loops, and a ring within the lozenge, is figured by Roach Smith from Icklingham, Suffolk (*Collectanea Antiqua*, iv, pl. xxv, fig. 3).

Lozenge-shaped brooch found 9 ft. deep in Pit 20, with long moulded projections at both ends. L. 1·4 in. The front has apparently been plated with silver or some alloy. A similar brooch, but enamelled and with terminals more like animal heads, is figured by Bequet, *op. cit.*, pl. ii, fig. 11 (2nd cent.). One from Heddernheim (*Römische Funde in H.*, vol. ii, fig. 26) is assigned to the second half of the second century; and one was found at Lowbury, Berks. (D. Atkinson, *Romano-British Site on Lowbury Hill*, pl. ix, fig. 39).

Brooch derived from the La Tène III type and persisting even to the third century, as the brooch of the poorer classes. It is made in one piece and has the bilateral spring, with the bow beaten out flat into a leaf form. It is one of the commonest types on Romano-British sites, and ten specimens were found at Hambleden. Several varieties are illustrated from Lowbury, Berks. (Atkinson, *op. cit.*, pl. vii).

Brooch allied to the last and perhaps more closely connected in time with La Tène III type. It was found 1 ft. deep at a spot 2 ft. E. of the E. stoke-hole of House III, and is $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. The bow rises vertically from the spring and forms a right angle: at the end of the catch-plate is a notch suggesting that there was originally a circular perforation in the plate, as in fig. 22. This variety of the one-piece brooch dates towards the end of the first century (*Bonner Jahrb.*, 112, p. 394).

Hinge-brooch with rather flat tapering bow, ornamented with four longitudinal lines and a slight boss at the foot. L. 1·4 in. This seems to be a descendant of the Aucissa type, the early date of which is now established; and may be attributed to the late first century.

Lobed brooch, imperfect, but originally furnished with a central boss (the pin for which is in position), surrounded by rings of white enamel. It is 1·6 in. in diameter and was found 3 ft. deep in the well-shed 13 ft. N. of base of platform. A similar brooch in the British Museum (*Catalogue of Bronzes in Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, no. 2178) has a ring of seven bone studs with bronze rivets; and two are figured in *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 221, from Wappenham, and from Ipswich, Suffolk (*Coll. Antiq.* iii, pl. xxxvi, fig. 1). There is one in Mayence Museum (no. 3216), and another was found at Colchester with a penannular brooch and other types in an urn of the first century.

Penannular brooch with the ends coiled so as to project from the face. It is 1·1 in. in diameter and was found $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep in Pit 19. The type is fairly common, but is not accurately dated: specimens in the British Museum from London, Colchester, Chesterford, Weymouth, S. Wilts., and Undley, Yorks.

Brooch foreshadowing the crossbow type, and deriving its ornamental features from the harp-shaped brooch of the second century. The bow has a prominent moulding in the middle, the upper half having a sunk chevron pattern originally filled with white enamel: there is another moulding at the foot, and a loop at the head (now imperfect) for attaching a chain to hold a pair. The long cross-piece at the head is not functional, but is a survival of the spiral spring on less elaborate forms. It was found $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep in Pit 24, and seems to be the latest brooch from the site, the date being in the neighbourhood of A.D. 200.

APPENDIX VII

MISCELLANEOUS SMALL FINDS. By A. H. Cocks, Esq., F.S.A.

Under present circumstances it is only possible to put on record the barest list of the small finds and to limit description to a very few items. Coins, pottery, and all kinds of objects unquestionably Roman, were met with actually on the surface, and thence downwards to about 2 ft. 6 in.; and it was only exceptionally (but naturally not including the Pits) that we had to search lower. Very few things of evidently modern make were met with; so that anything not obviously modern is *prima facie* much more likely to be Roman than recent.

In bronze: Armlets. Beads (also of jet, glass, etc.). Bracelets. Brooches (also of iron, see p. 190, fig. 20), numbering 90, not including fragments. Buckles (some perhaps of later dates). Chain, a short length, beautifully made, small, ornamental, evidently part of a necklace. Counters or discs of bone, like buttons with central depression, but not pierced. Flat bone ornament (fig. 30), now semicircular, but originally doubtless circular, 2·1 in. diameter, with four small circles with pierced centres, and groups of different numbers of short parallel scratches near the periphery (like minutes on a watch or clock); a shallow notch about half an inch wide has probably been balanced by another notch opposite, to hold a clip of bronze connecting the bone with the base; not later than second half 2nd cent. (Pit 5). Disc of bronze (fig. 31, no. 5), *c.* 48 mm. diam. = $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. Very similar objects have been identified as for decoration of horse-harness (Ritterling, *Hofheim*, xi, 43, dated A.D. 41–83, and called a 'girdle disc'; also *Newstead*, lxxii, 4, and lxxiv, 10, dated A.D. 80–100); but a difficulty with (at any rate) the present example, is to find the method by which it was attached to harness. There are no holes round the rim through which it could have been sewn to the leather, the only hole being a very small one (only large enough to allow a single thread to pass, not a leathern thong of the thickness of a boot-lace, or even the tag), but this completes the exact correspondence of the specimen to a modern tambourine jingle. These are strung in pairs on a small-gauged wire, the ends of which are inserted above and below in openings in the wooden hoop. Until within the last half-century, jingles were regularly used by military and theatrical bands, mounted on wooden frames, but have now disappeared. (N. of W. end of NW. wall, 2 ft. deep.) Handbell (3rd House, 3 ft. deep, SE. of E. furnace, 1 ft. below wall-top), diam. at lip 53 mm.; extreme height *c.* 37 mm. or $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Of unusual form, tapering rapidly in straight line from lip to shoulder, which is angular, and on the crown is a rounded boss, inside which the crown-staple was enclosed when the bell was cast. Possibly the iron was continued upwards as a slender tongue, passing through a wooden handle, as at present the boss affords no finger-hold. Necklaces. Needles, sacking, and netting; also in iron and bone; one of bronze is a flat, curved Seton-needle; one is made of the curving rib of a dog; a makeshift sacking needle is cut out of a strip of lead. Pendant: Mr. Hayter suggests this may be a soldier's apron pendant, cf. Ritterling, *Hofheim*, xi, 64 (A.D. 41–83). Pins, also in iron, bone, and ivory. Circular bronze plaque, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. diam., counter-sunk into bronze sheet possibly torn from a bucket. When cleaning it with oil, the Gorgon's head appeared, and I am hoping to learn the best varnish to use to re-establish it. (SW. corner of Room D, 1st House.)

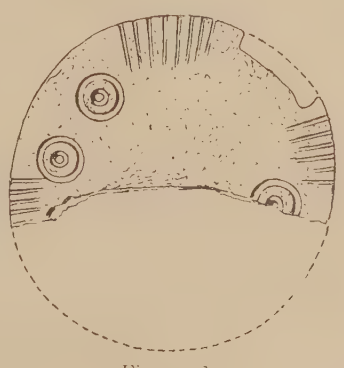


Fig. 30 (½).

A thin plate of bronze with open-work pattern, possibly part of the ornament of a scabbard. (The Mortar floor.) (Fig. 31, no. 3.) For the example which has suggested the use of the present specimen, see *Wroxeter*, 1914, p. 31, pl. xxi, 1, 1. Seal-box lid. Spoons, flat round bowled, 'mustard spoon' form, stems *c.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. Three of them are plated with silver. An iron spoon, with oval bowl, nearly dessert-spoon size, with long, pointed stem (outside W. corridor, 1st House). Under the concrete floor of Room H, in the 1st House (an alteration of the 3rd cent.) was a small collection of bone carvings: models (charms, or toys?) of three spears (broken): a battle-axe: a buckle: three flat bowls of 'mustard' spoons, but only portions of two handles; and half, split lengthways, of a turned ferrule, *c.* $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. long. Two studs, almost 'collar-studs'

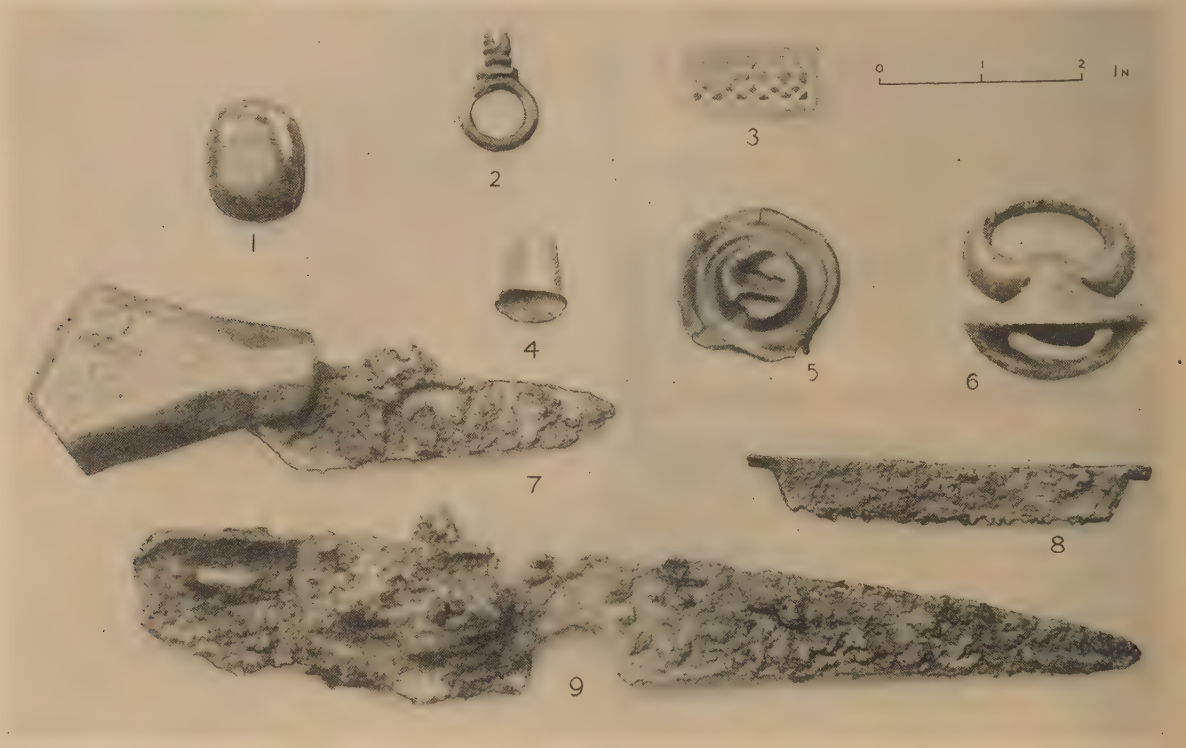


Fig. 31. Small objects.

of the present day. (1, In the drain of Room B, 1st House. 2, E. of N. wall of yard.) (Studs mentioned in *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.* ii, 56, fig. 8 (1863), from Colchester, are not similar.) Terret, very solidly and well cast (18 in. deep, 5 ft. N. of NW. wall). (Fig. 31, no. 6.) One in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, from Urmitz on the Rhine. They are there stated to be 'not infrequent in Rhenish finds' of Roman date. On their use see Sir C. H. Read, *Proceedings*, xx, 56, and *Arch.* lxvi, 351. One is figured in Mainz Museum Report, 1899–1900, pl. 3, figs. 13, 14. *Newstead*, lxxv, 12. Date: A.D. 80–100. Three thimbles. They do not resemble one figured by H. Ecroyd Smith, in *Reliquiae Isurianae*, pl. xxv, fig. 2, p. 50, from Aldborough, Yorks., but are similar to those of the present day, except that the crowns are nearly flat, with an angle at the shoulder, instead of semicircular. (1) Flattened (14 in. deep in the NW. corner of the 2nd House). (2) Crushed and corroded (2 ft. 6 in. deep in Pit 9); found with terra sigillata fragments bearing the stamps ·IPN· and LITTERA A.D. 100–150, and is

marked: ᛞᚴᛁᚢ.[1] (3) Perfect (26 ft. S. of Pit 9, between that pit and the 2nd House). (Fig. 31, no. 4.)

Toilet accessories, viz. nail-cleaners, tweezers, and short-stemmed ear-picks, both in bunches of three, and separate; long-stemmed ear-picks.

In iron: among a very considerable quantity of objects: Blacksmith's punches and axes. Supposed hub of a cart-wheel, *c.* $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. square; hole in centre $2\frac{3}{16}$ in. diam.; contains 20 $1\frac{1}{2}$-in. nails (near SW. corner of 1st House). Carpenter's and other tools; axe, centre-bit, chisels, cold chisels, gimlet, gouges, spoke-shave, saws (pieces from cross-cut to key-hole), including two that are worth description. (1) A curious little saw, which I presume was used for pruning trees (13 ft. deep in Pit 9). (Fig. 31, no. 9.) The blade tapers almost to a point, and is extended at the basal end to form the left half or side of the handle. The right side has evidently been of wood, and may have been prolonged to allow the user to reach branches above his head. The teeth point towards the handle. The blade is $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. long, and the iron part of the handle is $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Two nails, or rivets, remain *in situ* to fix the wooden handle. (2) An even more curious little saw-like tool came from the yard. (Fig. 31, no. 8.) The toothed edge and the back are parallel, and a carpenter suggested that the teeth, being upright, show that the saw was used for a hard material—bone or metal. At each end of the back has been a small eye or loop, large enough to contain a nail (both now broken), so probably there was a wooden support along the back. Extreme length along top edge $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.; along toothed edge $3\frac{3}{8}$ in.; depth $\frac{11}{16}$ in. (full). Something of the nature of a carding-comb, or a scraper for unknown purpose, are possible alternatives.

Chain of eight links, and separate links. Clamps for connecting butt-joints, probably in the roofs, various. Door-bolts. Door latches, and smaller latches as if for cupboard doors or boxes. Hinges for doors. Hinges for gates. Handles, various. Hasps and staples, various. Staples. Hold-fasts?, an undescribed pattern (over 30 examples). Hooks, for driving into walls (probably for clothes), various. Keys, a series of keys of various types (1st and 2nd centuries). Knives, from 'cookries' to clasp; various; some showing remains of wooden sheaths. One in stag's horn handle (between S. Enclosure Wall and 2nd House), fig. 31, no. 7. Various other handles (Curle, *Newstead*, p. 282, fig. 40, not later than Trajan, A.D. 98–117, etc.). Ligulae, probes, and other surgical instruments. Linch-pins, some probably of later dates. Quantities of nails of various types (up to $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. long). Some, of one particular pattern, quite free from rust, as if only just forged (? due to the presence of manganese, or to tannin in oak timber). Ox goads.

Ring (bronzed), with shank divided longitudinally; and on the halves, segments of three transverse rings divided correspondingly; a fourth at base, rather larger, undivided, to give a finish (fig. 31, no. 2). A direct pull, such as a cord suspending a curtain across a room would soon draw ordinary holdfasts. To obviate this, the present pattern seems to have been evolved, with the shank divided or split lengthwise. The two moieties would touch each other, or very nearly so, so that the outer surfaces would taper slightly towards each other. To hang (in wood) a hole of the exact size would be bored with a gimlet (an example in the collection), care being taken to bore the hole the exact depth of the shank, neither more nor less. The thin end of a small metal wedge would be applied to the division in the shank, and inserted (with the latter) into the gimlet hole butt-end first, and the shank with the wedge more than hammered into the hole. As soon as the wedge reached its limit, it would begin forcing apart the halves of the still-advancing shank, which would gradually expand, and by the time the ring at the shoulder touched the beam, the expanded shank, with its divided rings, would hold very firmly by lateral pressure, and the contrivance would stand a direct pull to a quite exceptional degree.

[1] If read the reverse way up, these marks would pass for the early Runes equivalent to ᚢᛁᚠ [or ᛉ].

Sickles (very small). Skewers. Spear-heads and spike butts. Steel-yard, parts of. Stili, two (out of 74) ought to be mentioned: (1) Of bronzed iron, octagonal to allow of good finger-grip, $5\frac{1}{16}$ in. long (1 ft. 8 in. deep in 3rd House, N. of W. stoke-hole). (2) An unusually slender iron example (probably not later than Antonine period) $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, found with the 'collar-stud' and fragments of terra sigillata Drag. form 37 (outside of the drain from Room A, 1st House) marked: IIIII ⩔ ⩕ ⩔.

Swivel-hooks. Wards of locks. Woven wire, two fragments of sheets of this are exactly like those now used in paper mills for receiving the thin sheets of pulp. No record exists of the (Domesday) mill close to the site having ever been used for this manufacture, which could not be earlier than the 16th century and no explanation can be offered, although they are probably Roman.

In terra-cotta: Statuette of Juno Lucina (?) seated in wicker-work arm-chair, nursing a baby; head of Juno missing. Gaulish, 2nd cent. (3rd House, N. of W. Stoke-hole, 2 ft. deep). A very similar example, but with *two* babies, is described in *Silchester*, pp. 100, 103, pl. xxxix B, fig. 14. Probably from a domestic shrine.

Of Jade (?). An Egyptian scarab, apparently the first found on a Roman site in England (fig. 31, no. 1). (10 in. deep, 1 ft. from wall, outside NW. corner of Room D, 1st House.) It measures 33 mm. long, 26 mm. wide; Professor Flinders Petrie kindly informs me that it is apparently of jade, between the 23rd and 27th dynasties (between about 800–400 B.C.). It is uninscribed.

Glass. A large number of small fragments, including a few of window glass.

Shapes: square bottles, broad ribbed handle stumps, one angular handle, flask necks, very thin rims curling back on the neck. Colours: deep ultramarine blue, pale blue of many shades down to colourless, amber-coloured, smoke-yellow, dark bottle green.

VIII.—The Priory of St. Leonard of Stanley, Co. Gloucester, in the light of recent discoveries documentary and structural. By the Rev. C. Swynnerton, *F.S.A.*

Read 29 November 1917.

Stanley, Co. Glos., is a village on the western slope of a spur of the Cotswolds one and a half miles north of Stonehouse. The village and parish are commonly called Leonard Stanley or Stanley St. Leonards to distinguish them from the next parish of King's Stanley as well as from the Wiltshire Stanley where there was also a conventual house. Occasionally it appears as Stanley Monachorum. But generally it was simply Stanley, and Stanley without qualification is the name which local lips often assign to it even at the present day.

Stanley St. Leonards can boast of two most interesting churches. The older church, now degraded to farm-yard purposes, was the ancient preconquest rectory church, but it is small, a chapel in fact, and therefore, following medieval usage, we shall distinguish it from the greater monastic and present parish church by naming it as the chapel of St. Leonard.

The Founder of the Priory.

In 1086 the great honour of Berkeley was held at a fee-farm of £500 a year by a certain Roger de Berkeley (I).[1] These Berkeleys came originally from Aumale, which must have been the cradle of the race, as testified by a charter preserved in original at Rouen from which we learn that 'Rogerus de Berchelaica' with Rossa his wife, in the early womanhood of Adeliza, a sister of the conqueror, gave to the canons of Auchy, near Aumale, *unam cappam de pallio, nec minus quoddam pretiosum vestimentum sacerdotale in quo nec cingulum defuit, dedit idem et calicem argenteum, crucem auream, et duas campanas.*[2] Possibly this was a thank-offering after Hastings. Its evidence as to family origin is

[1] This is a very early instance of a territorial name becoming generic. Cf. the case of Robert de Stafford and Nigel de Stafford. Eyton's *Domesday Studies, Staffordshire*, p. 51.

[2] This charter is given in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi, 358. Stapleton, however, misread the name Rossa, making it Rissa, and imagining her to have been possibly a Welsh princess. But clearly she was like the red red rose, and therefore Rossa, as shown by the following note from the librarian of the Archives départementales at Rouen: 'Dans le texte appartenant au fond de l'Abbaye d'Auchy-les-Aumale il faut lire *Rossa* et non *Rissa*.'

strongly fortified by the fact that Roger's grandson early in the reign of Henry II, in consideration of a grant of 40 acres at Mirefield (near Kingswood) to enable Bernard de St. Valery to shift his abbey from Tetbury to that more salubrious site, obtained from the said Bernard for himself and his heirs and for all the men of his table the freedom of the port of Saint-Valery-sur-Somme, which port was the port of Aumale.[1]

Roger de Berkeley I took the cowl at St. Peter's, Gloucester, in 1091, and there died in 1094.[2] He was succeeded by Roger de Berkeley II, who inherited not only the honour of Berkeley and certain knight's fees from his father, as for example Estun (Easton Gray), but also from his uncle Ralf de Berkeley, the Domesday tenant, the manor of Stanley. This Roger II was the founder of Stanley priory, and it seems to have come about in this way. Henry I spent the Easter of 1121 at Berkeley castle. He had with him his newly wedded queen, Adeliza of Lorraine, and the queen's chaplain Simon, afterwards bishop of the Worcester diocese which included Gloucestershire. All three were keenly interested in the spread of monasticism. The broad lands of Berkeley were originally the property of a college of nuns at Berkeley, whose abbey at the instance of Earl Godwin had been suppressed by Edward the Confessor.[3] To Earl Godwin those possessions passed, and from him to Harold, and from Harold to William, who enfeoffed first Fitz Osbern and then at a fee farm the Berkeleys. What more likely than that Henry himself suggested to his host the founding of a house as an act of reparation.[4] At any rate the house was founded as a house of Austin canons, and it was founded between the years 1121 and 1130, in which latter year, before Michaelmas, the founder died, probably as an inmate of his own priory at Leonard Stanley.[5]

Roger de Berkeley II left a son of the same name, but he was absent from the realm at the time of his father's death and remained absent for some years. Sir Henry Barkly believes from certain heraldic evidence that he was probably on crusade.[6] Every one went on crusade in that century on the slightest provocation. But he had a cousin, William de Berkeley, whom his father had employed as his steward to collect and pay in his farm.[7] Moreover, he had entrusted to him, close on his death, some lands called Acholt for the establishment of a house of canons or of monks at Kingswood. William chose monks,

[1] *Monasticon*, v, 426. [2] *Hist. et Cart. Glos.* (Rolls Series), i, 112.

[3] Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i, 26, and Sir H. Barkly's 'Berkeleys of Dursley', *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, viii, and ix. The fable of Earl Godwin's gay young knight, who was probably a spy, may have some foundation in fact. The destruction of the monastery and the alienation of the abbey lands imply a commission and a full inquiry.

[4] This was suggested by Sir H. Barkly, and I think with reason.

[5] *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 133.

[6] *B. and G. A. S. Trans.*, viii, 201. [7] *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 133.

favouring the Cistercians as more strictly religious than any others, to quote his own words in his address to the pope.

William seems to have thought that Roger would not live to return, which was likely enough. On his engaging to pay the large sum of £190, not the farm then due to the exchequer, Henry I made him farmer of the honour of Berkeley and *custos* also of the other lands, the knight's fees, of the deceased Roger II.[1] No mention, however, is made of the absent heir. It was an arrangement which could not have been possible if Roger de Berkeley III had been at hand to do his homage, pay his relief, and take seizin of his inheritance.

It was probably not till some time after 1139, in which year William founded the Cistercian abbey of Kingswood,[2] that Roger de Berkeley III returned home. Meanwhile the church and priory of Stanley had been alienated to the monks of Gloucester. This we know because King Stephen, after his victory at Northallerton which established his regal status, confirmed to them *ecclesiam Sancti Leonardi de Stanleia cum omnibus ad ipsam pertinentibus* in the year 1138 when holding his court at Gloucester.[3] Who was the meddler? It could only have been cousin William de Berkeley acting as *custos*. But when Roger came into his own again it seems quite certain that he refused to confirm the grant or to renounce his rights in his father's house of canons. Time came, however, when circumstances compelled him to give way. There can be no doubt that his sympathies were with Stephen and not with the empress and Henry, from which it happened that in 1146 certain partisans of the legitimist side, failing to compel him to surrender his castle, haled him off, after outrageous treatment, to Gloucester, and threw him into prison.[4] There, too long, he languished,[5] and there it probably was that he consented to place his affairs in the hands of his father's old friend Simon, bishop of Worcester.[6] He did this partly, I think, to raise ransom for his own redemption.[7] He did it also partly in order to safeguard his own rights, and the rights of his priory, in Berkeley and Berkeley Harness, which Queen Adeliza, with the consent of the empress favouring Reading, and Robert FitzHarding favouring St. Augustine's, Bristol, had already begun to invade. He trusted to the bishop, albeit he was also the queen's confessor, so under his direction and with the consent of Sebright the prior and the other canons he confirmed his cousin William's unlawful grant of the church and priory of St. Leonard of Stanley to the abbot and convent of Gloucester. All this occurred in 1146, when Gilbert Foliot, a strong man and a great Benedictine, was guiding the destinies of St. Peter's. And thus from that date until September 1538, when the priory

[1] *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 133. [2] *Monasticon*, v, 424. [3] *Hist. et Cart. Glos.*, i, 224.
[4] *Gesta Stephani*, Rolls Series, 82, iii, 121. [5] *Ibid., ad carceris perferenda supplicia diutius.*
[6] *Monasticon*, iv, 42. [7] See a parallel case in *Staffs. Coll.*, vi, pt. 1, 18, and in Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 214.

and all its lands passed to Sir William Kingston, K.G., vice-chamberlain to Henry VIII, and constable of the Tower at the heading of Anne Boleyn, Stanley priory was no longer a house of canons, but merely an unimportant Benedictine cell.[1]

The son of the founder was finally deprived of his honours of Berkeley, saving his father's gifts to the church and some other details, in 1152, and it is doubtful if he ever enjoyed Henry's full confidence again.[2] *Liber Niger* suggests as much, and the words of Bernard de Valery[3] of the king's household in his charter to Roger relating to the removal of his abbey are very significant, for therein he promises him his aid and good word with the king, saving his fealty—*auxilium et consilium meum in Curia Domini mei Regis Anglie salva fide mea.* The words suggest harassing suits in Curia Regis, and the Pipe rolls are not without indications to the same effect. However, by 1170 Roger de Berkeley III, son and heir of the founder of the priory of St. Leonard of Stanley and the disinherited baron of the Honour of Berkeley, was dead, seised *inter alia* of the barony of Dursley which was restored to him as a *solatium* in 1153, Henry having ended a long and bitter family feud by means of an ingenious matrimonial device cleverly contrived by himself and Stephen, namely, that of coupling Maurice, son and heir of Robert FitzHarding, with Alice, daughter of Roger de Berkeley, and Roger, son and heir of Roger de Berkeley, with Helena, daughter of Robert FitzHarding.[4]

Charters and Deeds.

I. *Henry II confirms a confirmatory charter of his grandfather Henry I.* No regular chartulary of the priory of Stanley is known to exist. But among the MSS. in the Bodleian Library there is an original charter of Henry II concerning this priory (fig. 1).

The existence of this charter seems to have been unknown to both Dugdale and Tanner.

By 'Maismore' in this charter we must understand Stanley. The whole manor of Maismore, which was part of the parish of St. Mary de Lode, the only Gloucester parish at the conquest, was given by Henry I to the abbey of Gloucester in 1101.[5] The Berkeleys never held land in Maismore at any time,

[1] Sir William Kingston, whose family was of Painswick, Glos., had succeeded Sir Robert Pointz (sheriff of Glos. 1527, ob. 1533) as steward of the Earl of Arundel's manor of Stonehouse and King's Stanley, both of which adjoined that of Leonard Stanley. MS. records in possession of trustees of the estate.

[2] Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i, 3.

[3] An enemy of Stephen, who deprived him of Hazeldene. *Monasticon*, v, 425.

[4] Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i, 4. The double marriage contract there appears in full.

[5] Taylor's *Domesday Survey*, p. 175.

and moreover there is no evidence apart from this charter that the prior of Stanley ever held a virgate there. But what we do find recorded in *Liber Niger* is that the monks of Stanley, while they never held a virgate in Maismore,

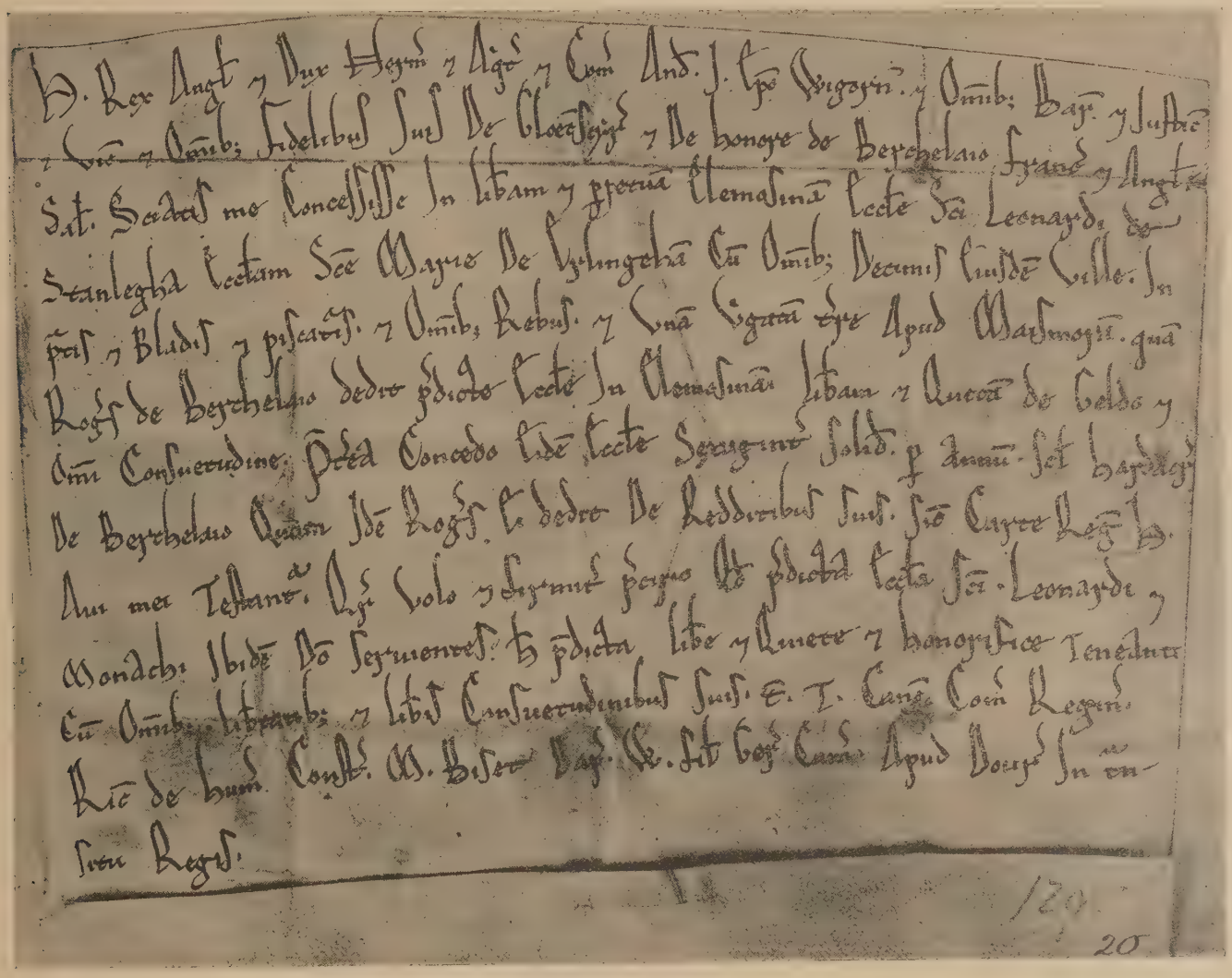


Fig. 1. Henry II's confirmation of a previous confirmation by Henry I.

were holding in 1166 of the gift of their founder, Roger de Berkeley, a virgate of land in Stanley itself. It is possible, of course, that for a time in the early years of Henry II the monks' virgate in Stanley may have been mised for forensic and fiscal purposes in the abbot's manor of Maismore,[1] but even so the

[1] For examples of this practice see Round's *Feudal England*, p. 116. Also *Staffordshire Collections*, A.D. 1913, pp. 222–3.

virgate of this charter was still in Stanley not in Maismore. Most likely, however, in the haste and bustle of the king's departure from Dover, the scribe blundered. The grant, as we learn from *Liber Niger*, was of Old Feoffment, and therefore made before 1135, probably in 1125. This virgate was augmented by the founder's son Roger in 1156 by the gift of 'Five Acres Grove'—a name which still obtains in the parish of Leonard Stanley.

It is not unlikely that this charter is, *mutatis mutandis*, the primal charter of foundation laid on the altar at Stanley *c.* 1125, confirmed by Henry I and reconfirmed by Henry II. The original endowment of the priory, afterwards more richly benefited, would thus have been:

1. The church of St. Mary of Arlingham with the tithes in hay, corn, fishings, and in everything.
2. One virgate which Roger de Berkeley gave in alms.
3. The 60*s.* yearly, namely, 'Hardacres' which Roger gave out of his rents.

This interesting deed is dated *Dovre. In transitu Regis*, that is, it certainly passed very early in the month of January 1156, the young king having just spent his Christmas at Westminster, and crossing from Dover to Normandy on 10th January.

It should be noted that the address of the charter is limited to the bishop, and to the barons, etc., of the county of Gloucester and of the honour of Berkeley, as if intended to check Robert FitzHarding's grants of land, and of fisheries at Arlingham, to his own foundation of St. Augustine's at Bristol.

The witnesses are all men well known in history, and were all of the king's household. The last named died in the summer of 1158, while John de Pagham, bishop of Worcester, died in the same year.

II. *Henry II's General Confirmation of all the Possessions and Rights of the Priory.* This charter is known only by a *verbatim* copy in an *Inspeximus* of 52 Hen. III, 1267,[1] and by a similar copy in an *Inspeximus* of 4 Hen. VI, 1425. Not to burden this paper unduly I will quote here only the more important passages:

Henricus Rex Anglorum et Dux Normannorum et Aquitanie et Comes Andegavorum Archiepiscopis .&c. salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Leonardi de Stanleya .&c. omnia tenementa sua in ecclesiis et capellis et decimis et terris et totam decimam piscaturarum mearum de Redlega et Gerne ex utraque parte aque, et sexaginta acras terre in Berchelega Hernesse que vocantur Hardacres et unam prebendam in ecclesia de Berchelaga que fuit Bernardi Capellani et duas hidas in Estuna. Concedo etiam eis et omnibus qui voluerint ut habeant pacem et libertatem eundi ad molendinum suum et redeundi per totam Kingesgrave et Hemegrave per vias et semitas que sunt in pratis et campis ex utraque parte aque currentis ad

[1] *Charter Rolls*, vol. ii, p. 112.

molendinum suum et communem pasturam .&c. ita tamen quod bladum et fenum sit prius inde asportatum.

[Here follows a full list of the usual privileges and exemptions.]

Hiis Testibus:—Rein[aldo] Comite Corn[wallie] Will[elm]o Comite Gloec[estrie], Will[elm]o de Belloc[ampo]. Apud Oxenef[ordam].

This lengthy charter is dated from Oxford. We know that Henry was at Oxford in January 1155, immediately after his coronation, and he was at Oxford again in May 1157, after his second coronation at Bury St. Edmunds, and in September 1157 when his son Richard was born.[1] William de Beauchamp, the third witness in the test clause, was the sheriff of Worcester, though not sheriff of Gloucester until Michaelmas 1156.[2] I do not think, however, he signed as sheriff. He was of the king's household, constantly in attendance, and a frequent witness to his charters. The importance of the deed would suggest the earlier date, namely, January 1155. Thus it preceded the Dover charter by one year.

Of the other two witnesses, Reginald, earl of Cornwall, was the king's uncle, and William, earl of Gloucester, was of the household, and both of them are found testing many confirmatory charters to religious houses in 1155 and in the following years.

Of the places mentioned in this charter Estun was Easton Gray in Wilts., 10 or 12 miles from Stanley. In 1086 it was held by Roger de Berkeley I. Redley is Rodley on the west bank of the Severn in the manor of Westbury, and Gerne is opposite on the east bank in the manor of Arlingham, but the weirs apparently stretched across the river. *Aque* in *ex utraque parte aque* (after the word Gerne) is the river Severn.

King's Grove and Home Grove lay, the former on the west side, the latter on the east side of the little Leonard Stanley stream which runs down through a dingle to the site of the old mill at Stanley Downton. The names survive in the Grove on the one side and the Homefield on the other. In the Homefield there are distinct evidences of the ancient manor-house which was there situated.

III. *Archbishop Theobald's Charter.*[3] This charter is also of the greatest importance in connexion with the chequered fortunes of the little house at Stanley. It takes the form of a letter—a letter of confirmation—which is addressed to *S[imoni] Wigornensi Episcopo,* and in which the writer styles himself *Apostolice Sedis Legatus.* After the preamble it continues thus:

Audientes itaque ecclesiam de Estona et ecclesiam de Comberleia, et ecclesiam de Camm, et ecclesiam de Erlingham et ecclesiam de Oselworth cum omnibus pertinenciis earum, et unam prebendam que fuit Bernardi Capellani in Berchelai et omnes eleemosinas quas habuit idem Bernardus in Berchelai Hernesse, ecclesie Sancti Leonardi et Sabrieto

[1] Eyton's *Itinerary of Henry II.* [2] Ibid. [3] *Monasticon*, iv, 470, and *Hist. et Cart. Glos.*, i, 226.

priori et canonicis de Stanleia iamdudum rationabiliter donatas [fuisse], et hoc plenius ex cartis regiis et cartis dilecti filii nostri Rogeri de Berchelai eiusdem ecclesie advocati attestatione cognoscentes, ipsi ecclesie Beati Leonardi de Stanleia in earundem ecclesiarum possessionem plenum nostre auctoritatis robur concedimus, et prefatas ecclesias ipsi ecclesie de Stanleia presenti scripto inperpetuum confirmamus. Valete.

This document is most valuable because it furnishes an authentic list of the advowsons in possession of the monks of Stanley down to the date thereof. What was the date? Theobald did not become Papal Legate until 1150. Simon, bishop of Worcester, died in 1151, and was succeeded by John de Pagham. But the monks say that the church of Cam mentioned by Theobald was not given to them until 1156. Which is right—the monks, or Dugdale in reading S(imon) in the address instead of J(ohn de Pagham)? The answer is that Dugdale copied correctly, but that the grant cited by the monks was really a confirmation in 1156 of the original grant, made by Roger de Berkeley, father of Alice, wife of Maurice, son of Robert FitzHarding.[1] Thus the date of this interesting deed is limited to the years 1150 and 1151, and this date is fortified by the sinister fact that Prince Henry, having come to terms with Stephen, began that very year to disinherit Roger de Berkeley.

Space will not permit any prolonged statement on the subject of the churches, but as an illustration of the way in which the monks squabbled over spoil it may be mentioned that Cam was claimed by Reading as of the gift of Queen Adeliza and that Cam was also claimed by St. Augustine's, Bristol. Henry II must have been greatly exercised over this and other disputes. Cam he decided should pertain to Gloucester St. Peter's (as of the priory of Stanley), but all the same Gloucester was ordered to pay to Bristol ten marks by the year by way of pension.[2]

But while passing the advowsons by, it is quite necessary that we should try to solve two problems of great moment. The one is what was the 60*s.* *per annum* from Hardacres in Berkeley Harness, and the other what and where was the Prebend of Bernard the Chaplain?

And first as to *The Lost Prebend.* The old collegiate church of Berkeley had several prebends, and since two of them were nuns' prebends the foundation must have been associated intimately with the suppressed Abbey of Nuns.[3] The last of the prebendaries may have been Bernard himself, whose prebend passed to the Berkeleys (with the rest) and from them to St. Leonard's of

[1] Roger de Berkeley's Confirmation in 1156 is mentioned by Rudder, p. 685.

[2] Additional Charters, B.M., No. 19606.

[3] Queen Adeliza seems to have made an attempt to re-establish a sisterhood of three nuns at Ozelworth. See *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 133, where lx.*s.* are issued for the vestiture of three nuns, and, by brief of the queen, xiii.*l.* in connexion with Ænselcwordia.

Stanley. A fourth prebend was given to Reading Abbey with the consent of the empress (*c.* 1140).[1] A fifth was given to Bristol by Robert FitzHarding 1154–70.[2] Notwithstanding all this it is recorded that Berkeley church and all its prebends were given to her favourite foundation of Reading Abbey by Queen Adeliza (1135–50).[3] Robert FitzHarding retorted by giving (1154) his church of Berkeley with all its prebends to his own favourite foundation of St. Augustine's.[4] Hence perpetual controversy. The rights of Leonard Stanley were imperilled. The abbot of Gloucester must have complained to the pope. The Papal Bull of Celestine III (1191) addressed, in answer, 'to the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter of Gloucester' concludes as follows:

> Obventiones ecclesiarum quae monachis in praedictis locis Deo devote famulantibus ad sui sustentationem sunt canonice collatae in proprios usus convertere ad bonum hospitalitatis . . . ampliandae cum iam dictas ecclesias vacare contigerit, *et nominatim obventiones praebendae de Berkeleya quam monachi de Stanleye ex donatione patronorum et confirmatione Regum, Archiepiscopi et Episcopi dyaecasani canonice dicuntur adepti* in proprios usus convertere non obstante Lateranensi et Diaecasani Episcopi prohibitione ex solita Sedis Apostolicae clementia saepedictis monachis dispensative in perpetuum indulgemus.
>
> Romae. Kal. Sept. Anno Primo Pontif[us].

The struggle seems to have eventuated in St. Augustine's obtaining the three prebends, and in its dispensing to both Reading and Stanley their respective annual portions. At the Dissolution the 'portion' paid to Stanley was £2 6*s.* 8*d.*[5] which, exclusive of obventions, may represent the average income at the time.

As to the place-name of the Stanley prebend no real evidence emerges. Perhaps there was no such name. The fact, however, that it was Bernard's, and that Roger de Berkeley, the Founder, selected it out of all the prebends for his own Foundation of Austin Canons may entitle it to be regarded as the Berkeley prebend *par excellence.*

'*The 60s. to wit Hardacres in Berkeley Hernesse.*' We must begin by defining Hardacres and the Harness. Many are the hard acres in the Cotswolds, but these particular Hardacres were portions of lands amounting in the aggregate to a knight's fee and widely scattered about. They were 'nooks and corners' as Smyth of Nibley quaintly terms such estates, encompassing or harnessing as one might say the great Honour of Berkeley. The Hardacres of the charters were some of these, possessed in Saxon times by one Bernard the priest. They had individual names as we shall see, but for some generations it

[1] *c.* 1140, possibly during Roger's absence.
[2] Fosbroke's *History of Berkeley*, 50.
[3] *Monasticon*, iv, 42.
[4] Ibid., vi, 365.
[5] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ii, 419.

was found convenient to name them collectively as the Land of Bernard the Chaplain. We need not recount what the charters have already told us about them, or recall that Robert FitzHarding complains to Henry II that Roger de Berkeley renders no service for the *totum feodum Bernardi Capellani* held by him of the Honour of Berkeley,[1] but it is advisable that we should quote also the record of Domesday about them. Thus it reads:

> Idem Rogerius [de Berkeley] tenet terram Bernardi presbiteri. v hidas. Ibi habet iii. carucatas. et ii. villanos. et vi bordarios cum v. carucis. Valet et valuit. lx. solidos.

What were these mysterious 60*s.* said to have been the value of Bernard's lands not only in the Conqueror's days but also in Saxon times? The entry is one of the puzzles of Domesday. It is hard to believe it was the geld value at all. It seems incredible that those very lands could possibly have yielded in mere alms to the church their full value as recorded in Domesday, within less than forty years. For this 60*s.* persisted, indeed it remained constant till well into the reign of Henry II, never more, never less. To suggest an error in Domesday would be an impertinence. But what if Roger de Berkeley, of whose accuracy in another matter the Commissioners were somewhat suspicious (*sic dicit Rogerius!*), gave in, not the secular value, but the ecclesiastical value, of the land of Bernard the Priest?

The nature of the charge on this estate we find in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas (1291). Here is the entry:—*Portiones Prioratus de Stanley Monachorum que vulgariter vocantur les Herde Acres in quibusdam ecclesiis et capellis Archidiaconatus Gloucestrensis Decanatis de Bristoll et Dursley taxantur ad £4.* And the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* tells us that these *portiones* were 'portiones of tithes'. Moreover the complaint of Robert FitzHarding (1166) implies that Roger de Berkeley derived rents from the land of Bernard the Chaplain quite apart from the 60*s.* If he did, why not his grandfather also? But his father did too. '*Out of* his rents', says Henry I.

It should be noted that, if the 60*s.* had been a simple charge on Bernard's estate, it would have remained the same up to the date of the Dissolution and beyond. But in the Deed of Surrender there is no sign of this. There the tithes, if these may be considered the firstfruit tithes, to be paid by the lay-impropriator 'to the use of the King', are entered as £8 2*s.* 4*d.*, that is, 162*s.* 4*d.*, which might perhaps fairly represent the 60*s.* of the charters.

The names of the several lands comprised under Hardacres we should never have known but for the recent discovery of Henry VIII's charter to the lay-impropriator at the Dissolution, which contains a verbatim copy of the lengthy and most interesting Deed of Surrender (in English) by which the last

[1] *Liber Rubeus*, i, 298.

abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, surrendered all the lands of the Leonard Stanley Priory in obedience to the king's orders. By the simple process of comparing this lease with the ancient charters and the *Hist. et Cart. Glos.*[1] we learn that the missing Hardacres' names were these following:

Stinchcombe in Cam.	Symonshale.
Nympsfield.	Kingscote.
Owlpen in Newton-Bagpath.	Uley.
Beverstone.	Elberton in Aldmonsbury.
Dursley.	

All these places, in agreement with the description in the *Taxatio* of 1291, were in the Deanery of Dursley, with the exception of Elberton which was in the Deanery of Bristol.[2] And from these places, no doubt, came the tithes which provided the old bequest of the 60*s.*

[IV. *Three Cubberley Charters* which, however, for want of space, I am omitting. They concern the advowson of the church of Cubberley, an old Domesday possession of the family, as to which there was a dispute between the monks of Stanley and William de Berkeley, younger son of Roger de Berkeley IV, who had lately been enfeoffed in that manor by his father. The dispute was settled (Deed I) by William de Norhale, bishop of Worcester (1186-91), and his decision confirmed in 1188 (Deed II) by Archbishop Baldwyn, the great apostle of Richard I's crusade throughout the principality of Wales, who subsequently perished at Acre. Under this agreement the prior and monks remitted their claim to the advowson, but inasmuch as the religious of St. Leonard's had been accustomed to receive annually from the church of Cubberley the sum of five marks for their sustenance, it was agreed with the common consent of all concerned that they should now receive a moiety of the tithes. Shortly after Thomas Carbonel, abbot of Gloucester, conceded (Deed III) to Robert de Lech' (= Lechton = Leckhampton, a neighbouring parish), a nephew of Master Peter de Leckhampton, archdeacon of Worcester, and rector of Leckhampton, the aforesaid moiety for his life, the rent being one mark of silver, payable to the prior and convent of Stanley. This moiety must have been altogether surrendered by abbot and prior on some subsequent occasion. I may note in passing that to one of these charters, that of Archbishop Baldwin, we find heading the attestation clause the name *Giraldus Archidiaconus Menevensis* which should settle any doubt as to whether Giraldus Cambrensis was ever archdeacon of St. David's.][3]

[1] Vol. i, 106.

[2] Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, iii, p. 179. Leonard Stanley does not appear to have received the whole of the tithes in later days, but only portions of them. The list should be compared with the list of the Berkeley manors given in Domesday.

[3] These charters have never been published.

V. *A Gloucester deed. Date 1230–8* (fig. 2). Singularly few, where there must have been many, are the Stanley deeds in the library of Gloucester Cathedral. The following is in original:

Sciant &c. quod ego Henricus clericus filius Roberti Coci[1] de Hereford pro salute anime mee et patris mei et matris mee et successorum meorum dedi. &c. Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Leonardi de Stanley decem solidos annuos quos percipere consuevi de Iohanne de Suthwell de terra quam idem Iohannes de me emit et in extremis suis prioratui legavit recipiendos de Priore de Stanley qui pro tempore fuerit, et fideliter expendendos per manum alicuius monachi apud Stanley commorantis ad inveniendam unam lampadem iugiter arsuram coram altari Beate Marie in Maiori Ecclesia de Stanley. Et si quid residuum fuerit de predictis decem solidis quod non oporteat expendi in predicta lampade invenienda ad melioranda ornamenta dicte ecclesie per manum dicti monachi expendatur et non in aliis usibus. Ut igitur hec mea donatio futuris temporibus rata permaneat presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui in testimonium.

Hiis Testibus. Petro tunc Priore de Stanley, Thoma de Hauvil, Waltero de Lementon, Thoma de Stowa, Symon de Feld, Monachis ibidem tunc commorantibus, Roberto persona de Osleworthe tunc capellano de Stanley, Thoma de Samford, Petro de Feld, et multis aliis.

Seal—with legend: *Hen. fil. Rob'ti Coc' de Hereford.*[2]

This is a confirmation, the real donor having been John de Suthwell. *Ecclesia Sancti Leonardi* should be noted as in previous charters. Also especially the phrase *in maiori ecclesia*, the lesser church being the chapel of St. Leonard. Interesting also is the test clause which perhaps gives the whole company of the monks in residence. There were probably never more than five, or six at the most, and they were continually being exchanged for others from Gloucester. The Felds were perhaps related to John de Feld of a Haresfield[3] family, who was abbot in 1243. The rector of Ozelworth was chaplain of Stanley probably during a vacancy in the living. The prior of Stanley at the end of the fourteenth century apparently held the position of an official in the diocese of Worcester, as suggested by the following abstract of a Papal letter:

'Mandate to the Prior of Stanley in the Diocese of Worcester to collate and assign to Nicolas Whyte, priest of the Diocese of Armagh, if found fit, after the usual examination in Latin, the Perpetual Vicarage of Preys in the Diocese of Lichfield, value 40 marks, void, and reserved to the Pope by the death at the Apostolic See of Stephen Hethe.

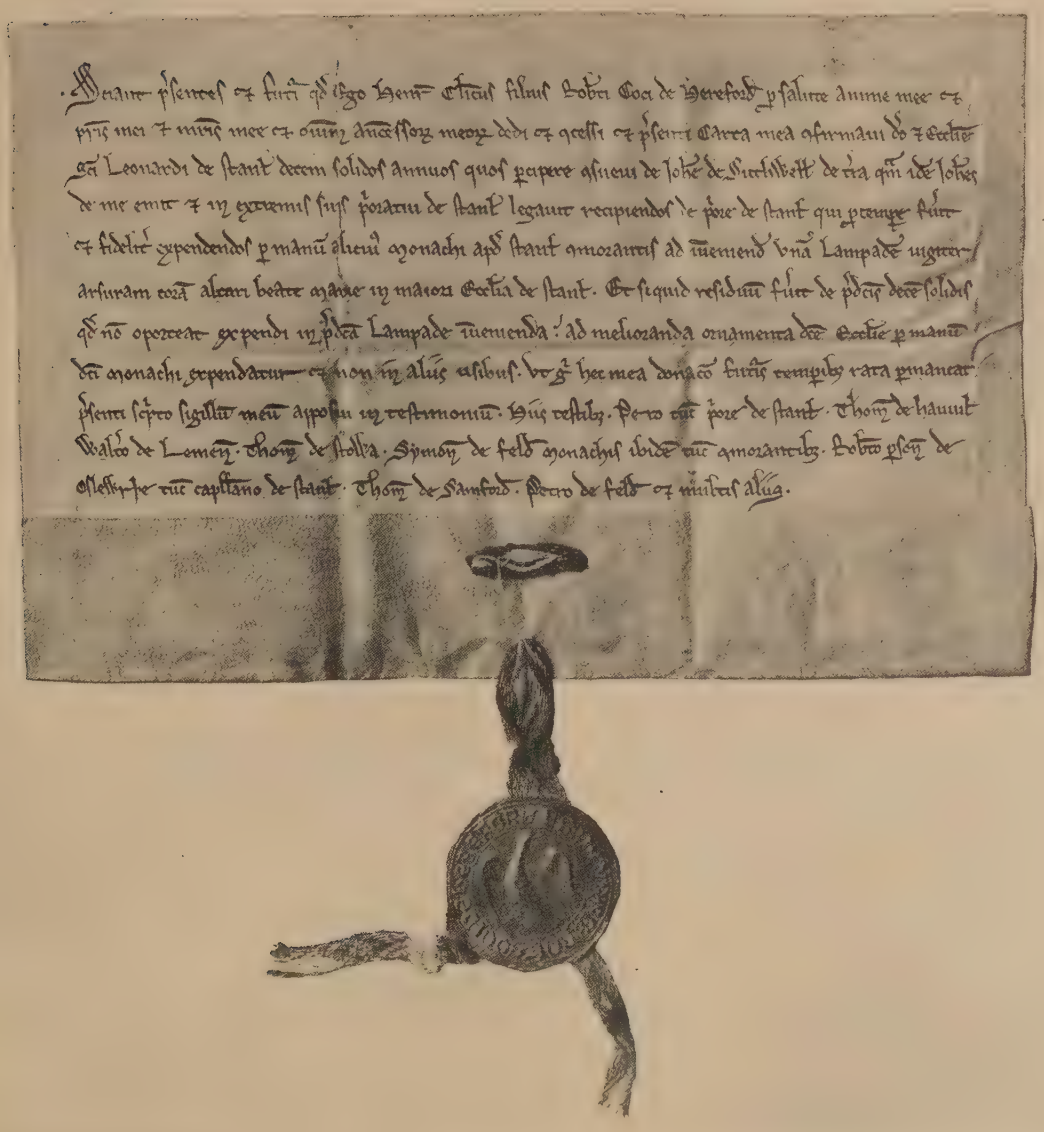
Dated S^t^ Peter's, Rome, 7 Kal. May, 1395.[4]

[1] A John Cokkes of Stanley was ordained priest at Hereford in 1351. Doubtless of the same family as Henry Cocus. *Registrum* of Jno. de Trillek.

[2] Gloucester Cathedral Charters, vol. v, f. 1, 2°. 2. I am indebted to Dr. Gee, F.S.A., Dean, for a copy of this charter. The Rev. Canon W. Bazeley first introduced it to me.

[3] Between Stanley and Gloucester.

[4] *Papal Letters*, vol. iv, p. 472.



Photograph by Sydney Pitcher.

Fig. 2. Deed granting ten shillings a year for a light to burn before the altar of the Blessed Mary in the greater church of St. Leonard.

VI. *The Abbot of Gloucester grants the Church House of Leonard Stanley newly built to the Parish. Dated 28th June 1502.*

Hec indentura facta xxviii^mo^ die Mensis Iunii A°. R. R. Henr' Sept.^mi^ xvii^mo^ inter Religios' viros Thomam permissione Divina Abbatem Monast' Sci Petri Glouc' et eiusdem loci conventum ex una parte et Ricardum Partryche et Iohannem Banester Procuratores Ecclesie parochialis Sci. Leonardi de Stanley in com' Glouc' ex altera parte testatur quod predicti Abbas et Conventus uno concensu et assensu tradiderunt concesserunt et de firma dimiserunt prefatis Rico et Iohi et eorum successoribus unam Domum de nova edificatione vocatam Churchhouse iuxta Cemeterium Ecclesie ibidem iacentem simul cum una parcella terre vacue ibidem iacente in vico inter rivolam ibidem currentem et dictum cemeterium una camera in dicta domo existente vocata paradyce cum reparatione eiusdem camere una cum aisamento dicte vacue parcelle terre annuatim tempore nundinarum sive feyre dictis Abbati et Conventui et Priori de Stanley ac confratribus ibidem omnino excepta et reservata. Habendum &c. prefatis Ricardo et Iohi &c. a data presentium inperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim &c. per manum prioris Prioratus de Stanley x. s. legal' moncte Anglie ad Festa Sci Mich' Archangeli Nativitatis Domini Annunciationis et Nat' Sci Johis Bapt' per equales portiones. Et predicti procuratores et eorum successores predictam domum except' dicta camera ac sepes ac escuratione stagni aque ibm dicte domui pertinentibus sumptibus suis propriis et expensis reparabunt et sustentabunt.

The deed includes the usual form of re-entry and ends:

Datum in Domo capitulare dictorum Abbatis et Conventus Gloucestrie die et anno supdictis.[1]

Excepting for a brief period (*temp.* Elizabeth) this church house remained in the hands of successive churchwardens at the same chief rent, payable to the abbot, and then I think to the lord of the manor,[2] down to the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was demolished for the enlargement of the churchyard. It served many useful parochial purposes. In 1750, or thereabouts, it became the parish poor house for the sick, the aged, and the destitute, and so remained to the end. It was situated at the edge of the old churchyard opposite the north transept, with the open 'rivolet', now no longer visible, flowing between it and the village green on which, covering an area far less circumscribed, used to be held the great annual fair of St. Swithun.

VII. *The Original Indenture of Henry VIII conveying to Sir William Kingston the Priory of Stanley; with the Abbot's Deed of Surrender of the same quoted in full.* The counterpart of this very important deed no longer exists at the

[1] Glos. Cathedral: Branch and Newton MSS., Deed 43.

[2] Queen Elizabeth, when lady of the manor, seems to have claimed this rent. *P. R. O. Augmentation Office Leases*, Roll 2, Lease 11.

Record Office or the British Museum, so that the part in original lately lying before me stands alone. It is in excellent preservation, both text and royal seal. The date it bears is Westminster, 20 June, 32 Hen. VIII (1540), being the year after the Dissolution of the greater monasteries. It is really a confirmation of the lease, whereby William, the last abbot of Gloucester, by order of Henry conveyed Stanley priory to Sir William Kingston. It is especially interesting because it recites word for word *in extenso* the abbot's own indenture, which is in the English of the time and which was handed to Sir William Kingston on the 20th September, 30 Hen. VIII, 1538, in the chapter-house of the abbey the year before its dissolution. But whereas the abbot and convent leased the priory property for ninety-nine years at a rent of £11 17*s.* 8*d.*, with a fine of £10 to each succeeding tenant payable to themselves and a further rent of £8 2*s.* 4*d.* as tithes for the use of the king, the king now reduces the term to 60 years, the aggregate rent being the same, but payable to himself.[1]

Sir William Kingston did not long enjoy his share of the spoils for he died within three months of the date of his new lease, in September of that very year (1540) and, a Gloucestershire man, lies buried at Painswick.[2]

He was succeeded by his son Anthony, who on the 26th September, 36 Hen. VIII, 1544, made request to purchase the 'church, the chapel, the cloisters', etc., etc. On the 22nd October the king sold him the priory, or cell, with all its members and rights, certain reservations excepted as before, in consideration of the sum of £360 paid to the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, and of an annual chief rent of 40 shillings.[3]

Neither did Sir Anthony enjoy his share of booty long. By licence of alienation from Edward VI, dated 29th May 1548, he was allowed to sell his interest in the estate to Anthony Bourchier of the city of London, esquire, who on the 2nd February, 3 Edw. VI, 1549, sold it to John Sandford of the city of Gloucester and of Stonehouse, clothman,[4] who died at Frankfort in 1560,[5] and in the hands of his descendants, though not in the male line, it still remains.

Meanwhile Sir Anthony Kingston perished miserably. In the month of April 1556, when being taken under arrest from Cirencester to London to stand his trial for treason against Queen Mary, death overtook him in the way, when his *mesne* tenure of his possessions at Stanley escheated to the Crown.[6]

To sum up then, the order of events with regard to the Dissolution as they affected Leonard Stanley was this:

1. 16th June, 28 Hen. VIII, 1536. An Injunction handed to the prior of Stanley

[1] Deeds *penes* Trustees of the Estate.
[2] State Papers, Hen. VIII, P. R. O.
[3] Deeds in possession of Trustees of the Estate.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *P. C. C.* 40 Mellershe.
[6] *B. and G. Trans.*, xix, 304-5 n.

to appear on that day before the Commissioners of the Court of Augmentations under pain of 500 marks. *P. R. O.*

2. June 1538. Order from the king to the abbot of Gloucester to recall his monks from Leonard Stanley, and to grant the priory and its endowments on lease of ninety-nine years to Sir William Kingston. *P. R. O.*
3. 20th September, 30 Hen. VIII, 1538. Date of the lease. *Gloucester Cathedral Library.*
4. 2nd January, 31 Hen. VIII, 1539. Dissolution of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.
5. 20th June, 32 Hen. VIII, 1540. King's fresh lease of the priory and its endowments to Sir William Kingston. *Penes the present Impropriator.*
6. 26th September, 36 Hen. VIII, 1544. King sells priory to Sir Anthony Kingston for the sum of £360 and a chief rent of 40 shillings. *P. R. O.*

The Dedication of both the Greater and the Lesser Churches.

First with regard to the greater church, now the parish church. For two centuries at least St. Leonard has been deposed in favour of St. Swithun. To every one in and out of the parish the church is St. Swithun's. It is high time that St. Leonard should come into his own again, and that the true dedication should be defined and acknowledged.

The most cursory examination of the foregoing charters and deeds suffices to show that the monastic church was always the church of St. Leonard, and that it remained so after the Dissolution the evidence of wills declares; as, for instance, David Woodward, in his will dated Leonard Stanley 1555, wills 'to be buried in the churchyard of *St. Leonard*'.[1] The proof is quite complete, yet it can be further corroborated by this one crowning fact, that even the very parish is *Leonard's* Stanley.

With regard to the lesser and older church, Dugdale and Tanner agree that the priory was founded in a (pre-existing) church of *St. Leonard.* There is abundant evidence to prove the truth of this statement. It is only necessary to refer to testimony from two sources.

1. There is a writ of 20 Edw. I, 1291, at the Record Office directing the escheator this side of Trent to inquire by jury whether Walter de Wykyng, parson of the chapel of St. Leonard of Stanley, had received 5 marks of rent at Shearston in co. Somerset from Lady Joan de Regny before or after the date of the Statute of Mortmain (*De Religiosis*, 1279).

In the return of the jury certifying that he had acquired the 5 marks before and not after 1279, this clerk is designated 'Chaplain, Parson of the Chapel of St. Leonard of Stanley'—*Capellanus Persona Capelle Sci. Leonardi de Stanley.*[2]

[1] Probate Office, Gloucester.

[2] *Inquisitions Miscell.*, no. 1545, vol. i, p. 436, P. R. O.

His chaplaincy was evidently that of the free chapel of Shearston[1] where the Regnys lived. Of the chapel of St. Leonard of Stanley he was *persona*, the rector of a church or chapel having parochial rights and cure of souls, the advowson of which was vested not in the abbot of Gloucester then at least, but in the lord of the manor.[2]

2. The other example is to be found in the volumes of Papal Letters published by the Record Commissioners. The date is the 6th of the kalends of April, 1395, and the entry reads as follows—'Relaxation of 5 years and 5 quadragene of enjoined penance to penitents who—on the Feast of the *Dedication*, with the addition of the Feast of *St. Leonard*, shall visit and give alms in favour of St. Leonard's Chapel in the Church (i. e. Monastery) of the Benedictine Priory of Stanley Monachorum in the Diocese of Worcester'.

No further evidence need be cited. It is evident that both Norman church and Saxon chapel at Stanley St. Leonard's were dedicated to God in honour of St. Leonard.

But the Papal Indult also explains how it came about that in Caroline and Georgian days when festivals dropped out and no one cared much about anything, St. Swithun was remembered while St. Leonard was forgotten. It tells us that, as in numerous other cases, the dedication festival was not identical with the patronal festival. Again at Stanley the days within the octave of St. Swithun were the occasion of the great annual fair. 'Stanley Feast' was the Sunday after St. Swithun's day (15th July). The observance of the festival of Swithuntide in prayer and in fair was the greatest and the merriest local event of the year, for St. Swithun's day was the date on which, we must suppose, the great Norman church of St. Leonard had been consecrated and *dedicated* as the new church of Augustinian Canons, the crowning glory of that modest little priory which had been founded in the original church of St. Leonard. Wholesale suppression took all the rest away, even St. Leonard, but Stanley Feast it could not take—not altogether. Hence, *vulgariter*, 'St. Swithun's Church'. But like so many other fairs, having also passed, Stanley Feast is now forgotten except by the very old.[3]

[1] *V. C. H. Somerset*, ii, 34.

[2] In 15 Edw. I, 1286, Henry de Berkeley (of Dursley) was seized of manor and *advowson of the church* (*Kirby's Quest*). In the *Inq. nonarum*, temp. Ed. III, the rector is assessed quite apart from the priory.

[3] Edward II granted Stanley two fairs, one on St. Leonard's Day (6th November), the other on the Saturday after St. Swithun. The former fell into desuetude, the duration of the latter increased. Rudder's *Glos.*, p. 685.

I add two more examples showing that dedicatory and patronal festivals did not always synchronize.

1. Relaxation of enjoined penance, etc., to those visiting, etc., *Holy Cross Church*, Woubourne, on

The preservation of the Chancel, Transepts, and Tower was perhaps due to the foresight and sagacity of William Parker, the last abbot of Gloucester. By this time the nave of the great church had long become the parish church, and was, therefore, inviolable, but the rest was Sir William Kingston's. In his lease no mention is made of the bells and the tower clock, so within two months of the date of that lease, namely, on the 4th November, 30 Hen. VIII, 1538, the abbot sold the bells in the tower and the old clock[1] to the parish for £30 paid down, the men representing the parish being the four principal inhabitants, namely, John Stradling, late priory bailiff, Richard Selwyn, probably a churchwarden and ancestor of more famous Selwyns of a later age, Robert Partridge, probably also a churchwarden seeing that his father Richard had been churchwarden, and John Towson, all of them landholders and three of them prosperous clothiers—'the iiij bells and a clocke late callyd the priorye bellys and clocke of Stanley aforesaid'. It is not unlikely that Sir William Kingston had been a consenting party, because within six days, namely, on the 10th November 1538, he executed a 99 years' lease granting to the parishioners 'full right for the use of the tower and the ringing of the bells there, with free ingress and egress through the same tower and church (i.e. the non-parochial portion) at all times convenient for the only using exercising and ringing of the bells and clocke now hanged or being in the tower, and alsoe to break up and make away into the said church and tower for the recourse of the said parishioners for the use aforesaid', the parish to be at the cost of all repairs to the said tower.[2]

Armed with this authority the churchwardens proceeded to open a convenient door in the gable of the north transept, which, though built up, can still be seen. And this was necessary, as the entrance to the tower stair was then in the transept and not as now on the nave side, while the great screen dividing the priory side of the church from the nave had been sealed up.

But the Kingstons soon passed away, the property changed hands, ninety-nine years were a long time, the dividing screen was ultimately swept away and the people occupied the whole fabric, the lay rector retaining his customary

the anniversaries of its *Dedication*, and on the Feasts of the B.V.M. and of *Holy Cross* (A. D. 1298). *Papal Letters.*

2. Relaxation, etc., visiting, etc., *All Saints Church*, Wolcote (Norwich), on the Feasts of *All Saints*, etc., and on the *Anniversary* of the *Dedication* of the Church (A. D. 1291). *Papal Letters.*

[1] The bells were ancient. Two of them survived till quite recently. Those existing at the time of his visit Professor Middleton fully described. Since then they have been melted down, and have given place to a ring of six. See Middleton's paper in the *Transactions of the B. and G. Archaeological Soc.*, v, 119.

[2] Both the deeds above referred to are in the possession of Miss Denison Jones, Lady of the Manor, and owner of the priory lands.

Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 1. North view of church before lowering of levels. Roof of St. Leonard's chapel to right

Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 2. Interior looking east

Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 1. The re-opened west doorway, before the insertion of the new oak door

Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 2. The two canopied tombs and the ascent to the screen

rights and responsibilities in the chancel, and thus it came to pass, that unlike luckless Malmesbury, the whole of this fine Norman church, practically complete in all its essential parts, was happily saved for church and nation.

Recent Repairs and Discoveries in the Fabric of the Greater Church.

We now come to the church itself, the material fabric. The great merit of it lies in this—that, in plan, it remains to this day almost the same as it was when the Norman builders left it—almost but not quite, because—

1. The eastern apses of the transepts, which contained altars, have been destroyed.
2. An Edwardian porch covering the Norman doorway has been added.

But no aisles have been added to mar the plain grandeur of the whole.

I do not purpose entering into full architectural details because that has been already done by Mr. J. L. Petit[1] and by Professor Middleton.[2] But a brief description is quite necessary if the discoveries made in the work of reparation are to be understood.

The church is cruciform with an imposing central tower (pl. XIX, fig. 1). The whole length from east end to west is 136 ft., with a breadth of 25 ft. in the nave, and 20 ft. 8 in. in the chancel. The length of the nave is 73 ft., the length of the chancel 38 ft. The length of the two transepts including crossing is 68 ft., and the breadth of the same 17 ft. The measurement of the crossing is 25 by 17 ft., the tower being oblong.

The style is Norman, plain and severe. Its date might be not earlier than 1125 with some later details.

The whole of the original Norman lights on the south side of the nave (pl. XXIII, fig. 1) and in the south transept remain, and one of those belonging to the north side of the nave.

Surviving tokens show that the east end had originally three Norman lights, which made way for a fine Decorated window of three lights early in the fourteenth century, when the Norman vaulting of the chancel was removed and four tall Decorated windows inserted in the north and south walls. Decorated and Perpendicular windows, four in number, were also later substituted for Norman ones in the north transept and the north side of the nave.

The chancel (pl. XIX, fig. 2) was restored under the superintendence of Bodley and furnished with simple oak stalls some forty years ago at the expense of the lay rector, Richard Denison Jones. The ceiling of oak was renewed, and the floor, which is much above its original level, laid down with black and white marble.

[1] *Archaeological Journal*, vi, 40.

[2] *B. and G. A. Trans.*, v, 119.

A circumstance unnoted by Mr. Petit and by Professor Middleton is that the two transepts and the crossing probably retain their original Norman ceilings with their strong oaken tie-beams, the lofts of the transepts being covered by simple trussed rafter roofs. The loft of the north transept, entered from the tower above, was a columbarium.

When appointed to the living in autumn, 1912, I found the roof of the nave in a very neglected and even perilous condition. The whole of the rafters at the ridge-pole were fully 18 in. out of the perpendicular, having parted bodily from the tower, with their enormous weight of stone tiles, westward, thrusting out the upper half of the west wall which hung over, imminent, and likely at any moment to fall in ruin. Added to this there was a huge fissure or crack in both the north and south walls, within a foot of the inner side of the west wall and extending from the foundations right up to the wall-plates, gaping visibly both inside and outside the church, and rich in immemorial ivy which had thrown tendrils into the church itself.

A committee was at once formed on which served besides the patron, Mr. Cumberland Jones and the churchwardens, Archdeacon Scobell of Gloucester, that well-known Gloucestershire antiquary Canon W. Bazeley, the Rev. J. Nowill Bromehead, and the Rural Dean. Appeals brought in £1,000 within less than a year, and work began.

The Roof. This had been lowered from its original pitch like so many other old church roofs. It was ceiled with poor mean varnished match-boarding and entirely hidden from view. When this was stripped off we found quite a sound fourteenth-century wagon-roof of good oak with principals and arched braces and purlins and collars resting on moulded wall-plates. Then were the heavy tiles gradually taken down, and the timbers one by one drawn to the upright, and when the whole roof was finished in workmanlike style it was left without another touch, simply to tell its own story without varnish, or stain, or oil.

The West Window. This was late Perpendicular, probably of the reign of Henry VII. But the moulded jambs and all the mullions and tracery had been cut away in the eighteenth century to let in more light to a hideous gallery of elm which had been thrown across the very midst of it. The timber was all worm-eaten and the gallery ruinous.

The window was set in an arched recess, and when the upper part of the wall above it was being taken down for rectification, it was seen that the jambs of the recess had run up above the sweep of the arch which must have been lowered when the Norman light or lights had been taken out.

The marks of the destructive chisels of Georgian times betrayed the bases of the mullions, which were restored, and tracery befitting the four-centred arch inserted.

The West Door. The outside of this beautiful door of three orders, a fine piece of deep Norman moulding, had been spared, but the inner arch of dressed stone with its hood moulding had been destroyed, and the whole doorway filled in, built up, and plastered over. From the inside this doorway has been opened and carefully restored (pl. XX, fig. 1).

The South Wall of the Nave. The whole interior face of the walls of this church had been faced with fine thin plaster, and in the reign of Edward II[1] richly covered with paintings on a background of stoned red lines showing scrolling and central flowers in blue. The ghosts of some of these pictures are still to be seen in the chancel, as, for instance, the figure of a kneeling knight in mail. Forty years ago the walls of the nave, which were thickly whitewashed, were stripped to receive modern plaster. As the whitewash peeled off there were revealed beautiful pictures, say the old men, the colours vivid and fresh. One was a hart at cooling streams, another the miraculous draught of fishes, another, on a deep window-splay, a bishop confirming. Many came to see, none came to save. They were mercilessly hacked away. The local architect wanted the rough face of the walls on which to lay his one-inch plaster. And now only the tradition remains.

The Ascent to the People's Screen. But another tradition survived regarding this south wall, and that was the existence of a mysterious opening high up in the wall big enough for a man to stand in. This led to examination. The remembered hole in the wall turned out to be a doorway. Within the four-foot thick wall we found a stone staircase with a single quaint little window, and on removing the deal wainscoting of 1798 below, we found also the lower doorway which had been driven through the centre of a thirteenth-century canopied tomb. Here, then, we had the evidence that late in the fifteenth century a screen had been thrown across the nave two bays down. The style of the arched doorways told us so. It was the people's screen erected when the nave became the parish church (pl. XX, fig. 2). But to this latter subject I shall revert when describing St. Leonard's chapel.

The West Processional Door. The existence of this doorway leading in from the cloisters was known because the outer moulded arch and jambs had been left undisturbed, the doorway alone having been blocked up. The inner arch was found on removing the plaster, but the hood moulding had been chiselled away. It is now in order, helping to break the monotony of the south wall.

The East Processional Door. Any trace of the existence of this door had been all but obliterated. The side of a small Norman capital showing on the outside

[1] The soffits of the eastern tower-arch show a succession of Castles of Castile in black—a badge of Edward II.

led to an examination. Stuffed away within the wall we found all the fine, deeply cut Norman mouldings and the pelleted label, and the whitewashed vault of the doorway, while within the church, on the removal of the plaster, we found the corresponding Norman jambs, but the jambs only. This doorway, which was loftier than the west processional door, has now been restored and forms part of the church. Curious evidence was found showing that the cloisters without were first intended not to be lean-to, but covered gabled fashion. The material used must have been timber.

The Two Canopied Tombs (pl. XX, fig. 2). These tombs had long been hidden from view and their existence forgotten. The one is of the early thirteenth century, the other of the early fourteenth. It was through the centre of the former that the entrance doorway to the stone staircase within the wall had been driven in the fifteenth century. The latter tomb, with its ogee arch, its moulding, crockets, finial, and pinnacles, all of which had been shaved away to fix on the panelling in 1798, had been pillaged, and the stone coffin abstracted. This lay within the church for years, but some twenty-five or thirty years ago an enlightened churchwarden took it to his farm-yard to serve as a trough, where later on it was broken up as material in the erection of a fowl-house, in the walls of which its fragments are still incorporate.

It is not unlikely that this latter tomb was used as an Easter sepulchre. These tombs are probably those of dowager ladies of the Berkeley family who had a manor-house in Stanley, as in witness thereof—'On June 23rd, 1287, the King (Edward I) assigned Stanley to Joan, widow of Henry de Berkeley, as dower'.[1] Her young son, a minor, was then in custody of the king. She died in or about 1327.

The Incised Covering Slab of the Founder's Tomb. Such at least I take it to be. It had been cast forth, and we found it when lowering the churchyard path, lying anyhow and upside down, within three yards of the porch. The founder died in 1130. The date of the slab cannot be much later.[2] It measures 6 ft. 6 in. in length, 1 ft. 6 in. in breadth at the top, and 1 ft. at the bottom.

The Two Destroyed Apses. The existence of these has been noted by Professor Middleton. That writer did not realize, however, that the north transept was almost certainly the chapel of Blessed Mary. The arch of the apse in the south transept remains. So does the piscina. Here may have been the altar of St. Swithun.

A Norman Aumbry. This was found, by tapping, in the north wall of the sanctuary. It had been built up, plastered over, and whitewashed. It is barrel-roofed like an old chest. The curious ribbon-like moulding over it exactly

[1] *Close Rolls*, 1287, p. 456, P.R.O.

[2] Cf. Cutts, *Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, pl. V, 1.

Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 1. Norman tympanum with a caricature of the Fall

Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 2. Norman capital: the Nativity

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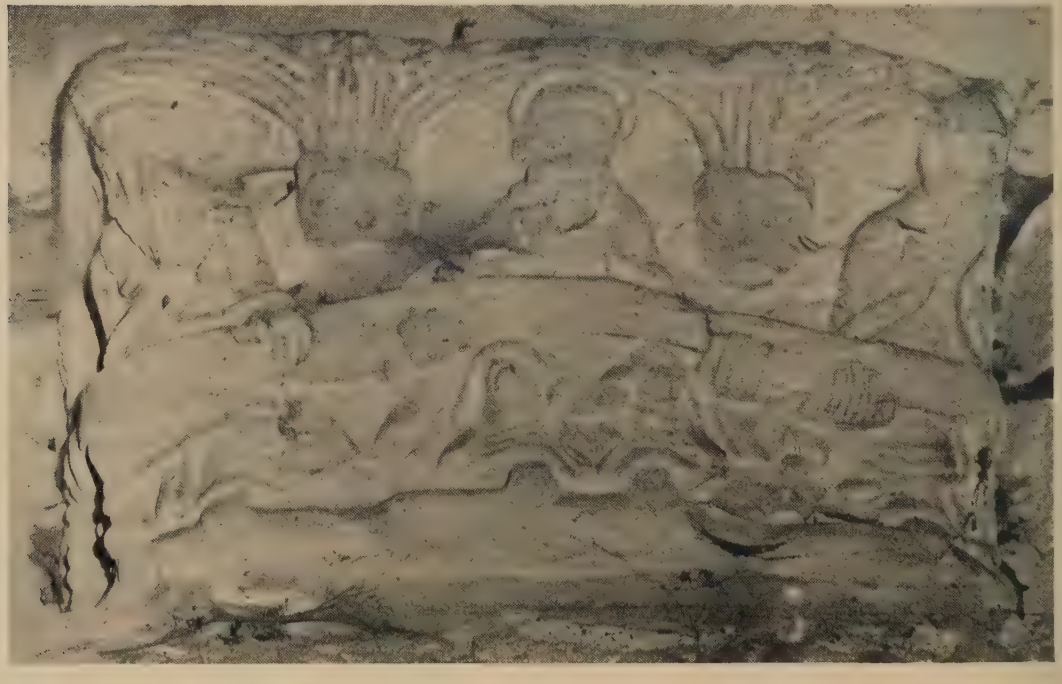
Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 1. Norman capital: Christ with St. Mary Magdalene in the house of Simon the Pharisee
Note fourteenth-century wall-painting



Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 2. Norman sculpture: the Holy Trinity (?) with the scroll of the Book of Life

corresponds with the moulding of the Norman string-course on each side of the chancel. There is a rebate for folding doors. Its measurements are 3 ft. in height, 2 ft. 6 in. in width, and 2 ft. in depth. On it some stencilling in red still remains.

The Aumbry on the South Side. It is clear that the surmounting sculpture had not been moved from somewhere else in the church, as has been supposed, since evidently there had been a heavy Norman moulding over it (pl. XXI, fig. 1), corresponding with that of the aumbry recently discovered.

The Porch and the Ancient Level. The porch may be late thirteenth century. A test examination showed that the bases of the shafted jambs of the fine Norman door were two feet below the existing level. Other evidence proved that the floor of the church had also been raised. A tradition spoke of a churchwarden's record telling of a time 'two hundred years ago', when tons of earth had been brought in for the purpose of raising the level, because the overflowings of a running stream now diverted brought water into the church in times of flood. The committee determined therefore to restore ancient conditions. No pavement existed under the wooden platforms on which rested the deal pews of 1798, and only a few fragments of early tiles were found, red, with the yellow device of the cross-keys of St. Peter. The men in excavating also found a silver penny of Edward I more than eighteen inches down. Beneath the ancient level we now filled in the whole area with six inches of concrete. The old flags and tombstones of the middle aisle were replaced, and the rest laid with parqueted blocks of wood.

Norman Sculptures. One of these has been described, though inaccurately. I mean the one over the aumbry in the south wall of the chancel, being some craftsman's grotesque caricature of the Fall. Adam and Eve are seen as beasts with human faces full of humorous meaning. Eve with her right hand offers the apple to her bewildered husband, while with her left she grips, not the tail of Adam, but the tail of the escaping serpent on whose head Adam is palpably seated. This carving was discovered, plastered over, by the Rev. Canon W. Bazeley, twenty-five years ago (pl. XXI, fig. 1).

Of the other three sculptures, two are also in the chancel forming the carved capitals of two of the engaged shafts from which the stone vault sprang. A third has found its way into the porch, inserted high above the Norman door. The several subjects of these three are: (1) The Nativity (pl. XXI, fig. 2); (2) Christ reclining in the house of Simon the Pharisee in the act of benediction, while Mary Magdalene wipes His feet with her hair (Pl. XXII, fig. 1); (3) The Holy Trinity in royal apparel, seated under Norman canopies of state, with the scroll of the Book of Life unrolled on their knees (pl. XXII, fig. 2).

The workmanship of these singular sculptures is very fine, and the carving as sharp as if only recently turned out.

St. Leonard's Chapel.

To Professor Middleton's description of this smaller church—St. Leonard's the Less—which that writer believed to be Norman in origin, we must now add matter up to date. A simple survival from pre-conquestal days, it owes its preservation to the fact that, after passing into lay hands, it was found to be useful for various farm purposes. At first it seems to have suffered rearrangement for unknown domestic uses. Then it was structurally altered and fashioned into a barn. The central portion of the south wall, apparently late in the eighteenth century, was broken through and great folding doors fitted, to admit carts. At the same time a corresponding portion of the north wall was removed and a transept there added for storage of crops, etc. At the present day it is divided into three parts by low partitions of timber. In the western division will be found fowls and store of firewood. In the middle wagons, ploughs, harrows, etc. The east end is reserved as a sanctuary for ailing horses or newly born calves.

This little church, consecrated by centuries of holy services, is not Norman, but Saxon in origin. It was rectangular in form, excepting for an apse at the east end. This apse was taken down early in the fourteenth century, the chapel enlarged 5 ft. eastward with a square east end (pl. XXIII, fig. 1), handsome Decorated windows inserted, and a new piscina provided. Excavation revealed the foundation course of the Saxon apse. The dimensions of the chapel were these:

Present length from fourteenth-century east end to west end	55 ft. 6 in.
Original length from crown of Saxon apse	49 ft. 3 in.
Breadth throughout	17 ft. 0 in.
Thickness of walls including that of discovered apse	2 ft. 8 in.

The Saxon evidences of this primitive structure are as follows:

1. The herring-bone masonry in south wall and apse.
2. A portion of the original arched doorway on the north side facing the ancient village street (fig. 3).

The beautiful decorated windows, the piscina, etc., now in neglect and ruin, have already been described by Middleton.

The Apse (fig. 4). With his accustomed prescience, which was justified in the event, Sir William St. John Hope in March 1914, when paying me a short visit, after inspecting the other tokens of Saxon work and having been especially struck by the character of the old doorway and something peculiar in the ochre-

Fig. 1. South-west view of church and east end of chapel

Photograph by Sydney Pitcher

Fig. 2. The fish-pond, with roof of St. Leonard's chapel to left and Tithe-barn to right

tinted mortar used, and noting that the chapel had evidently been extended eastward early in the fourteenth century, prophesied the existence of a Saxon apse in the sanctuary and recommended an examination of the ground. The

Fig. 3. Saxon work: Springing of arch of original entrance door of St. Leonard's chapel.

apse was found precisely as foretold, showing a central upright stone in the crown of the arc, and the other stones sloping away from it to left and right in the usual way. 'And now', wrote he, 'Leonard Stanley may rejoice in its great Norman church of St. Leonard, and in its Saxon chapel'—not of St. Swithun, but of St. Leonard also.

When did this chapel cease to be the rectory church of the parish? The recent discoveries in the nave of the greater church show that it was sometime in the middle of the fifteenth century.[1] By that time the people of these parts, chiefly engaged in the weaving trade and famous for their broadcloth, had increased greatly in numbers, so that the little church was no longer able to accommodate them. For their rights in it they evidently compounded with

Fig. 4. The Saxon apse as excavated.

patron and abbot, and to meet their wishes and their needs the monastic nave was constituted the parish church, while at the same time the abbot and convent of St. Peter's must have acquired the advowson of the living, together with the parish tithes, the patron at the time being a member of the Wekys family, descendants of the old Berkeleys, with whom the lordship of the manor of Stanley remained till Elizabeth's time, when it went to the Crown.

It is much to be wished that this sacred relic of the long past, this little

[1] It was still the 'parish church' in 1434 when the prior of Worcester came in the course of his visitation, and 'dined and spent the night with the Prior there'. *Registrum Sede Vacante, Worcester*, p. 399.

plot of holy ground, could be redeemed from further desecration. It has become very infirm. A recent proprietor was for clearing it away altogether, and might have done so but for the mediation of his farmer-tenant. It has been sadly knocked about, most cruelly entreated, but, thanks to its value as a farm-yard asset, never wholly destroyed. It is indeed devoutly to be hoped that some day there will come those who will feel for it, and by good counsel, timely action, and liberal alms, save it for the nation.

A little over a hundred years ago, the ancient rectory-house, its front in a line with the western wall of the chapel and facing the fish-pond; the arched entrance-gateway of the priory, opening on to a passage leading to the cloisters; the ancient kitchen, four-square, standing between the rectory and the site of the refectory, with its lofty louvered roof; and the round cider-house behind the dairy and granary (still existing), were all in evidence, but have since vanished. Happily the medieval tithe-barn with its broken Decorated gable-window and finial, its original entrance door, built up, and a small light to the left also built up, which may have lighted the office of the granger, still remains (pl. XXIII, fig. 2). A vault under the north end of the modern mansion may also form a portion of the vanished part. This mansion, which has long been a farm-house, received a fine Georgian front in 1748, and the rest of the house, though built somewhat in the Cotswold style, cannot be much earlier, as Rudder, writing in 1779, tells us 'the old priory house was destroyed about thirty years' before that date,[1] while it is observable that the area covered by the present house encroaches on the site of the destroyed cloisters.

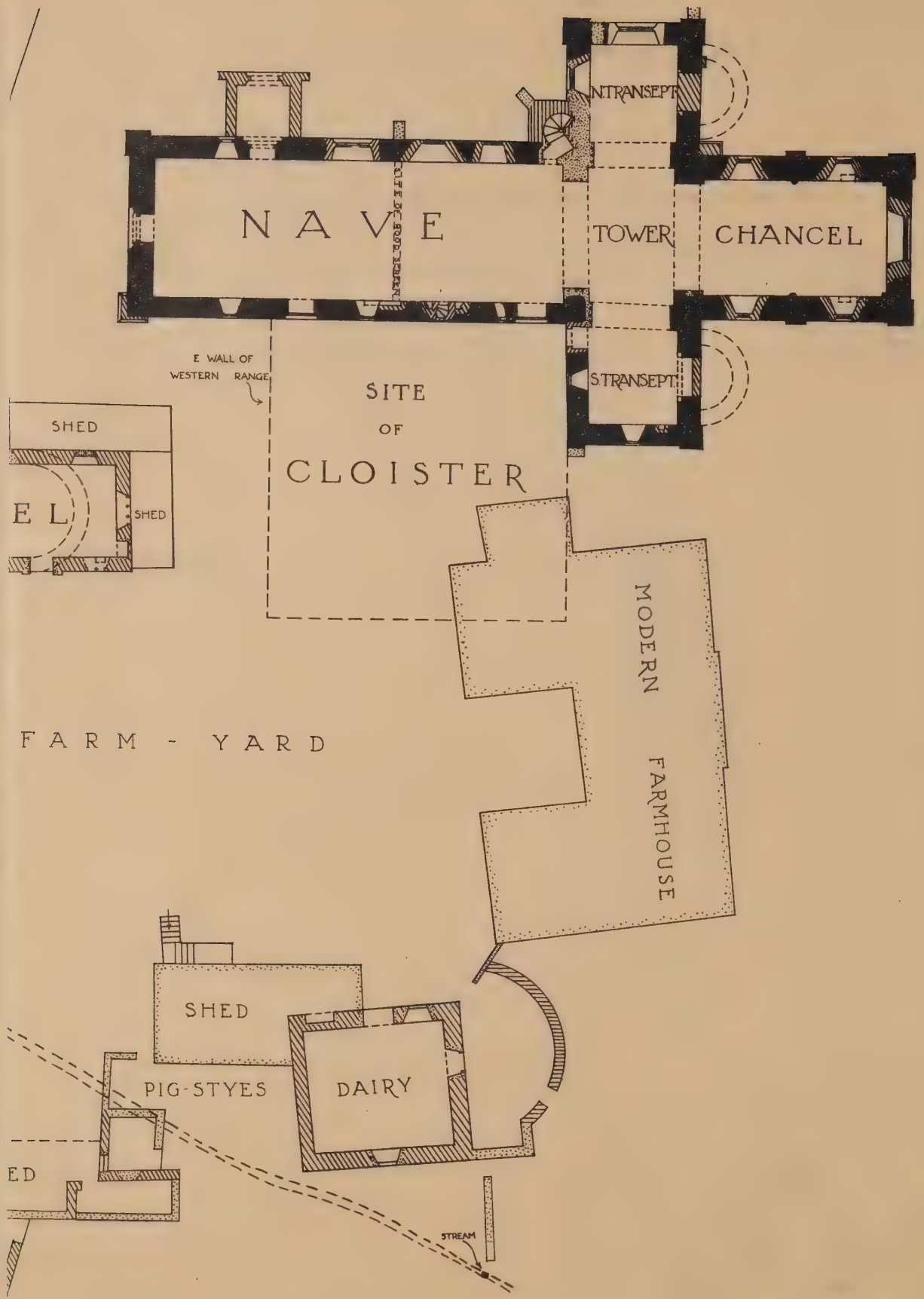
Note.—When the abbots of Gloucester acquired the advowson and the rectorial tithes of Leonard Stanley, apparently in the fifteenth century, they were in the habit of apportioning £6 by the year for the maintenance of a curate (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*). But in the last abbot's indenture of surrender of the priory no fixed sum for this purpose is mentioned. The wording runs thus: 'Sir William Kyngston alsoo promyseth and graunteth that he his executors and assigns and everye of theym durynge the said terme at their proper coste and charges shall kepe and fynde suche a sufficient curat to singe and saye dyvyne service yerelye and to mynystre the Sacramentes and Sacramentalles within the parishe church and parishe of Leonard Stanley aforesaide wherebye the saide Abbott and Convent and their successors shalbe clerely discharged agaynst the Ordynarye for the tyme beinge for the servynge of the same cure.'

In the Court of Augmentations' enrolled deed of sale to Sir Anthony Kingston (Pat. Roll, 36 H. VIII, pt. 4, no. 743) this condition does not appear. Yet it was certainly understood, and probably expressed in the fuller instrument

[1] Rudder's *Gloucestershire* (1779), p. 686[b].

committed to his own hands, for the sum of £6 or rather of 9 marks continued to be paid, nor was that sum augmented till the time of Queen Anne, though the value of land had risen and the cost of living largely increased. In an episcopal visitation which Mr. F. S. Hockaday dates about the year 1743, and the original of which is now at Lambeth, it is stated that the curate's 'pension' in 1710 was only 20 nobles (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) without even a dwelling-house. The queen's surrender of firstfruits and the establishment of the Bounty Fund enabled the first Governors of that Trust to redeem most of the rectorial tithes of Leonard Stanley from the then lay-rector and impropriator Mr. Robert Sandford, and thus to raise the curate's stipend to the annual sum of £60.

STANLEY ST LEONARDS, GLOS., PRIORY AND CHURCH.



uaries of London, 1922

IX.—*An Archaeological Survey of Oxfordshire. By the late* Percy Manning, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A., and* E. Thurlow Leeds, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Introduction.

In 1896 the late Mr. Percy Manning, M.A., F.S.A., compiled an archaeological survey of Oxfordshire on the same lines as those already published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, but for some reason did not have it printed immediately with the result that the manuscript soon ceased to be up to date. Nevertheless from the year 1896 right down to the beginning of the war he was assiduous in collecting every available piece of information about archaeological discoveries in the county, and, as the material collected shows, had evidently some intention of publishing it in a near future. This intention was frustrated, however, by the outbreak of war and later by his death in 1916. He bequeathed his manuscript collections to the University of Oxford and the archaeological portion has been deposited in the Ashmolean Museum.

The present survey is almost entirely based on the material in the Manning Collections and stands therefore as a monument to one whose knowledge of Oxfordshire's past has had few rivals. Several additions have been made to the list of discoveries known to Mr. Manning and a few minor corrections have been found necessary. In these two respects I am particularly indebted first to Miss M. V. Taylor, M.A., for giving me the benefit of her special knowledge of Roman Oxfordshire derived from many years' association with the work of the late Professor Haverfield; secondly, to Mr. T. Colyer, of the Reading Museum, who has kindly examined and supplemented the list of discoveries in the south of the county.

I have endeavoured to make this survey complete up to the end of the year 1921.

A slight modification of the usual division of a survey of this kind into parishes has been adopted. All the finds from the River Thames have been placed together under one heading, arranged, as in the case of discoveries in individual parishes, in chronological order of periods. Thus the finds of the Bronze Age have been placed together irrespective of other finds from the same parishes. Further, in this section have been incorporated all the finds from the River Thames which are recorded under Berkshire parishes, since the Thames being common to both counties the discoveries in the river may also be regarded as common property and a complete list of finds may be useful towards forming an estimate of the part played by the river at any period of the early history of the district as a whole.

The Palaeolithic remains from Oxfordshire are fairly numerous. They come from the gravels of the Thames valley at all heights from the level of the Thames itself, as at North Hinksey backwater (Oxford), or the River Evenlode

at Cassington to some 205 ft. above the river at Rumbold's Pit, Ewelme. The presence of implements has thus been detected in all the four river-terraces postulated in the Geological Survey, the most productive sites being at Wolvercote, several gravel-pits around Benson and Ewelme, and Toot's Farm, Caversham. The types of implements found at the different levels are not sufficiently differentiated to admit of classification on the continental system. They are throughout mainly of Chellean forms. The same site, as at Rumbold's Pit, has furnished examples with the edges still quite sharp or much abraded and water-worn, as well as with every variety of patination.

The presence of Neolithic man is well attested by numerous celts of flint, both chipped and polished, found chiefly in the vicinity of the Thames. Several have been found near Oxford itself, others between Ewelme and North Stoke, and a few near Reading. From the north-western part of the county only isolated specimens are known, as at Great Tew and Eynsham. On the other hand this area, especially the high open country between Chipping Norton and Woodstock, is rich in sites where arrow-heads, scrapers, and other smaller implements of flint besides numerous flakes are to be found. The same applies to the neighbourhood of Grim's Dyke, South Oxon. Traces of flint-workings have been observed near Cowley and Iffley, as well as along the heights above the Thames from Mapledurham to Henley. Not all these sites of course belong necessarily to the Neolithic period; many doubtless date from the Bronze Age or even later times. Apart from two fine bowls from the Thames at Mongewell no Neolithic pottery has as yet been found in the county, though discoveries just over the border of adjacent counties, as at Upper Swell, Gloucestershire, and at Astrop, Northants., raise hopes of further examples coming to light in the future. To this period also belong long barrows at Lyneham and in Wychwood and probably the dolmens at Rollright and Enstone.

Oxfordshire was traversed by more than one trackway in early times, though how far back in antiquity they date is not known. Right across the county from east to west runs the Akeman Street. Entering from Buckinghamshire in Piddington parish it takes a slightly north-westerly trend to the Cherwell, which it crosses near Tackley, and from there traversing Blenheim Park it turns south-westwards, leaving Wychwood on the right, and passes out through Holwell parish into Gloucestershire. Another is the Icknield Way which, following the northern side of the Berkshire Downs, crosses the Thames about Goring and, striking north-eastwards under the Chilterns by Ewelme and Watlington, leaves the county at Chinnor.[1]

Megalithic monuments are well represented. Dolmens occur at Rollright and Enstone, and several menhirs, as at Enstone, and two (now destroyed) in

[1] Aves Ditch is included in this survey, but its high antiquity is quite hypothetical.

Wychwood. One complete megalithic circle, the Rollright Stones, still exists and at Stanton Harcourt are three stones, the 'Devil's Quoits', of what must have been an enormous circle. To both of these a considerable folk-lore attaches itself. Long barrows are known at Lyneham and Wychwood; and round barrows are numerous, particularly in the north-western part of the county. Bronze Age burials with beakers or food-vessels have been unearthed in Oxford, at Clifton Hampden and Drayton (S. Oxon), at Yarnton and Oddington. Cinerary urns are known from Oxford (New Iffley), Stadhampton, Ducklington, Stanton Harcourt, and Standlake. The urns from the last-named locality, as others from Yarnton, are closely connected with habitation-sites. Of the fairly numerous bronze implements which have come to light, it is worthy of remark how many have been found at crossings of the Thames. Thus the river has yielded finds, mostly weapons, at Swinford (Eynsham), Oxford, Sandford, Moulsford, and Wallingford. Two notable discoveries are the bronze shields from Eynsham and Dorchester. A few hoards are known: one comes from the Thames near Wallingford Bridge; another, a hoard from Leopold Street, Cowley Road, containing several palstaves from the same mould as one in a smith's hoard from Burgesses' meadow, Oxford, suggests a common ownership.

The Late Celtic period is but poorly represented in Oxfordshire as compared with many other counties. Several settlements, such as Standlake, Bampton, and Yarnton, bear witness to the presence of a Celtic people of the Iron Age, but the finds are meagre in the extreme. A notable exception is the finely engraved dagger-sheath from Hinksey backwater, Oxford. Coins, chiefly of gold, are not uncommon. None of the uninscribed examples are of early types. Coins of Tincommius as well as tin coins of Gallic origin bear witness to trade with the south. The distribution of the inscribed coins seems to suggest that in Oxfordshire in part, possibly along the line of the Cherwell, lay the tribal frontier, dimly suggested by the early cartographers in such town-names as Corinium Dobunorum, between the Catuvellauni on the east (coins of Andocomius, Tasciovanus, Cunobeline, etc.) and the Dobuni (coins of Boduoc, Comux, etc.) on the west. An interesting discovery is the Greek inscription from Wilcote.

Oxfordshire of Roman times is not one of the important districts, a fact partly due to its situation in the middle of a triangle formed by three great roads of traffic, the Watling Street, the road from Silchester to Cirencester, and the Foss Way. In Akeman Street, bisecting the northern half of the county, we have an undoubted Roman road, with several important Roman sites close to it. Another Roman road connected Dorchester and the settlement at Alchester and ran on from there northward into Northamptonshire. But these appear to have

been subsidiary lines of traffic. No Roman town or buildings of prime importance occur in the county; Oxford of Roman days was an insignificant settlement. Numerous country-houses with mosaic floors and hypocausts at Stonesfield, Great Tew, North Leigh, Wheatley, Beckley, etc., however, attest a class of Romano-British landowners living in settled security under Roman rule and engaging in agriculture. Signs of their presence are particularly frequent in the north-west of the county. The north-east is almost as unfruitful of Roman as of prehistoric remains. Much influenced by Roman culture these agriculturists built houses on a Roman plan, decorated them in Roman style, and used pottery and other objects of daily use of Roman fabric; but there remained withal a strong substratum of the Celtic spirit to creep out more especially in many of their decorative motives. At Sandford-on-Thames and Headington considerable traces of pottery-making have come to light.

From the Dyke Hills at Dorchester comes one of the earliest Saxon discoveries in this country, while later on the full flood of the settlements spreading over the country is evidenced by numerous cemeteries, the two largest at Brighthampton and Wheatley, and many smaller ones, as at Broughton Poggs, Filkins, Yelford, Minster Lovel, Lower Heyford, and Ewelme. A comparison of the relics recovered from the graves with those from other counties points to the Thames as the line of immigration of a tribal element, to which the name West Saxons has been given, and which has left its traces from Northfleet, Kent, to Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, with settlements in proximity to the course of the rivers. They are particularly frequent close to the north bank of the Thames west of Oxford; outliers have been found up the valleys of the Windrush, Cherwell, and Thame.

Objects assignable to Late Saxon times consist almost entirely of weapons, by far the larger proportion of which have been found at river-crossings, e.g. Shifford, Oxford (Magdalen Bridge), Wallingford, and Islip. Fine examples of Late Saxon workmanship are the sword-pommel from the Thames at Wallingford and an enamelled jewel from Minster Lovel, the latter the only piece known which in form compares with the Alfred Jewel.

From Palaeolithic to Early Saxon times there are continuous signs of a settlement of some kind on the site of modern Oxford, usually in the northern suburbs, but such facts as the line taken by the Roman road tend to show that it was not a place of real importance. Oxford as a city owes its inception, as has been ably demonstrated by the Rev. H. E. Salter (*Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist*, i, Oxf. Hist. Soc., vol. lxvi, 483 ff.), to a definite piece of town-planning in Late Saxon times, and possibly the coins found below Carfax Tower admit of the scheme being regarded as the work of Edward the Elder.

E. T. Leeds.

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A. B. C. sup.	—— Ancient British Coins, Supplement, 1890.
A. B. I.	—— Ancient Bronze Implements, 1881.
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Ash. Mus. N. C.	New Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum (printed, but not published).
Ash. Mus. 1869, etc.	Ashmolean Museum, Registers of Accessions, 1869, etc.[1]
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Lukis.	W. C. Lukis, Bircham Barrows, 1843.
Lukis MSS.	MS. Collections of W. C. Lukis in the Lukis Museum, Guernsey.[1]
Manning MSS.	MS. Collections for an Archaeological Survey of Oxfordshire, compiled by P. Manning (Ashmolean Museum).
Mavor.	W. Mavor, New Description of Blenheim.
Morgan.	T. Morgan, Romano-British Mosaic Pavements, 1886.
M. S. A.	MS. Minutes of the Society of Antiquities of London.
N. C.	The Numismatic Chronicle.
N. O. A. Rep.	Reports of the North Oxfordshire Archaeological Society.
N. O. A. Trs.	Transactions of the North Oxfordshire (now 'Oxfordshire') Archaeological Society.
N. L.	H. Hakewill, An Account of the Roman Villa at Northleigh, 1826.
N. L. S.	—— Roman Remains at Northleigh and Stonesfield, 1836.
N. W.	Sir R. Colt Hoare, Ancient History of North Wilts., 1819.
O. A. H. Cat.	Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Antiquities held by the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, 1894.
O. A. H. S.	Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, New Series, vols. i–v, 1861–93.
O. J.	Jackson's Oxford Journal.
O. J. R.	'Records of the Past', reprinted from back numbers of the Oxford Journal, 1753–1793.[2]
O. M. C.	Oxford Millenary Exhibition Catalogue, 1912 (Illustrated Edition).

[1] I am indebted for knowledge of these MSS. to Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A. (E. T. L.).

[2] These reprints, collected into a volume by Mr. P. Manning and indexed by him, are now in the Bodleian Library (G. A. Oxon, C. 202).

O. S.	Ordnance Survey, 6-inch scale.
O. S. old.	Ordnance Survey, old 1-inch scale.
O. T.	The Oxford Times.
O. U. Coins.	Oxford University Coin Collections (Ashmolean Museum, formerly in the Bodleian Library).
O. U. G.	Oxford University Gazette.
Oxf. Ind.	List of British and Romano-British Finds in Oxford in Archaeologia Oxoniensis, pp. 49–52 (map).
Pit.	S. Pitisco, Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanorum, 3 vols., Venice, 1719.
Pitt-Rivers Mus.	Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.
Plot.	Robert Plot, The Natural History of Oxfordshire, 1705.
P. N. S.	Proceedings of the Numismatic Society (Appendix to the Numismatic Chronicle).
P. O.	J. Parker, Early History of Oxford (Oxford Historical Society, iii), 1885.
Poin.	J. Pointer, Britannia Romana, 1724.
Poin. S.	—— An Account of a Roman Pavement . . . at Stunsfield in Oxfordshire, 1713.
P. S. A.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.
Q. J. G. S.	Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London.
R. B.	Records of Buckinghamshire.
Read. Mus.	Reading Museum.
Read. Mus. Cat.	—— Catalogue of.
Rol.	G. Rolleston, Scientific papers and addresses, 2 vols., 1884.
Rol. MSS.	MSS. of George Rolleston, M.D., F.R.S., in the Department of Comparative Anatomy, University Museum, Oxford.
Rous.	W. Wing, Annals of Rousham, 1877.
R. S. M.	J. Fergusson, Rude Stone Monuments, 1872.
Ruding.	Ruding, Annals of the Coinage of Britain, 1817.
S. O.	F. Mackenzie, Skelton's Engraved Illustrations of the Principal Antiquities of Oxfordshire, 1823.
Soul.	J. H. Gough, Notes on Souldern, 1882.
S. S.	W. Stukeley, Stonehenge, 1740.
St. A.	W. Wing, Antiquities of Steeple Aston, 1845.
Stevens.	Joseph Stevens, What are Skin-scrapers?
T.	The Times.
Th.	H. Lupton, History of Thame, 1860.
Univ. Mus.	University Museum, Oxford.
Vaughan Thomas	Vaughan Thomas, An Account of Yarnton Church.
V. C. H.	Victoria County History, Oxfordshire.
V.C.H.Berks.	—— Berkshire.
W. D. B.	W. J. Monk, Walks and Drives round Burford, 1896.
W. F.	W. Warde Fowler, Kingham Old and New, 1913.
Wh.	J. Slatter, History of Whitchurch, 1895.
Williams.	B. Williams, Memorials of the Family of Williams of Cote in the parish of Bampton, 1849.
W. L. T.	A. Clark, Wood's Life and Times (Oxford Historical Society).

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Adderbury	ROM.	Bronze steel-yard weight and coin of Constantine.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 118.
		Bronze bracelet near Twyford Bridge.	id. 115, pl. x.
		Coins.	B. Ban. 610.
		'Remains' in village and the 'Ridge-way'.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 17.
	POST-R.	Coloured glass roundel in bed of Sor Brook.	B. Ban. 19, pl. viii, 1; A. J. iii, 355; B. A. A. xvii, 62; Ash. Mus.
Adwell	Ⓔ	Round barrow on Adwell Cop.	O. S.; Plot 333–4, 343; C. M. B. iv, 212, 422; V. C. H. ii, 345.
	? PRE-R.	Urn 'near the windmill on Adwell Cop'.	B. B. O. iv, 10.
Alchester, *see* Wendlebury			
Ardley	ROM.	Coins in the village.	B. B. O. iv, 10.
Ash Bank, *see* Aves Ditch			
Asthall Leigh	Ⓔ	Round barrow, Leigh Hale Plain.	O. S.; A. xxxvii, 433; V. C. H. ii, 345.
	Ⓔ	Round barrow, 'Asthall Barrow'.	O. S.; Plot 333; C. M. B. iv, 212, 416; He. C. iii, 403; A. xxxvii, 433; V. C. H. ii, 345.
	PRE-R.	Neolithic pottery, etc., E. of Asthall Barrow.	E. T. Leeds.
		Flint arrow-head near Asthall Barrow.	Manning MSS.
		Standing-stone near Asthall Barrow (now destroyed).	Plot 333.
	ROM.	Fibula and coins at Asthall Barrow.	W. D. B. 121; B. B. O. iv, 10.
		Foundations, burials, pottery, coins, etc., in the village.	Information from Dr. A. E. Peake.
		Buckle and coin by Akeman Street.	B. B. O. iv, 10.
		Coins at Fordwells.	B. B. O. iv, 17.
		House near Worsham Mill, 1908.	Haverfield MSS., Sept. 1908.
Aston and Cote	PRE-R.	Bronze looped spear-head.	P. S. A. 1 s. iii, 54; Ash. Mus. N. C. 406.
	ROM.	Two coins (Hadrian and Trajan).	P. S. A. 1 s. iii, 54.
Aston Rowant	PRE-R.	Gold coin of Cunobeline.	B. A. A. xv, 290; Ruding iv, pl. 4, fig. 4; A. B. C. 300.
	ROM.	Burial urn containing ashes, and smaller vases, Kingston Field.	K. 22, pl. 1.
Aves Ditch	Ⓔ		Plot 327; D. B. P. ii, 58; Blom. i, 25; B. Ban. 29, 38; V. C. H. ii, 342.
Badgemore	Ⓔ	Round barrow, 'The Mount', on E. side of Fair Mile.	O. S. (not marked as Tumulus); V. C. H. ii, 345.
Bampton	PRE-R.	Oval quartzite 'mace-head', Bampton Castle.	Read. Mus.
	PRE-R. & ROM.	Fragments of urns, etc., pits, contracted burials, Calais Farm.	Ant. xxiii, 155; B. B. O. iv, 11.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Bampton (*cont.*)	ROM.	Coins.	Poin. 34; Coll. of Sir Arthur Evans.
	? POST-R.	Bronze pin, *c.* 1886.	Univ. Mus.
Banbury			
—— Crouch Hill	Ⓔ	Circular entrenchment.	B. Ban. 9, 10.
—— Town	PRE-R.	Bronze sword, St. John's Hospital.	Ash. Mus. 1898–1906, Pr. 368.
	ROM.	Coins.	C. B. 266; B. Ban. 23, pl. vi, 5.
—— near		Urn.	A. J. ii, 352.
		Coins, Wykham Park.	O. S.; N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 17.
Barford St. Michael	ROM.	Gold chain.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 118.
		Pottery and coins at Blacking Grove.	O. S.; A. J. viii, 423; xx, 172; P. S. A. 2 s. ii, 174.
Beckley	PRE-R.	Gold coin of Cunobeline.	B. B. O. iv, 11.
		Red-enamelled spindle-whorl.	B. B. O. iv, 11; Manning MSS.
		Fibula.	B. B. O. iv, 11; Ash. Mus. 1886, 1140; A. lxvi, 570, fig. 2; P. S. A. 2 s. xxvii, 98.
	ROM.	Villa, tessellated pavement, etc.	O. A. H. S. i, 186, pl.; A. J. xx, 73; Haverfield MSS., 8 Sept. 1895.
		Coins near Stow Wood, 1894.	Manning Coll.
		Road.	C. M. B. iv, 407.
	? ROM.	? Mile Stone, Jacob's Stone, Otmoor.	G. M. lxxxvii, 311; D. B. P. i, 120; Blom. i, 6.
Benson	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implements at Gould's Heath Pit, Turner's Court Pit, and W. of Church.	Ash. Mus.; Pitt-Rivers; O. U. G. xlii, 987; A. S. I. 593; H. W. i, 29; Manning Coll.[1]
		Part of neolithic flint celt and scrapers, near Allotments, 1901.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 519–20; Manning MSS.
		Neolithic chipped flint celt near Howbery Park, 1906.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 518.
		Neolithic chipped flint celt, Turner's Court.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 525.
		Circular flint knife, etc., Beggar's Bush Hill.	(W. R. Davies Coll.) Manning MSS.; O. U. G. xliii, 987.
		Bronze celt, Crowmarsh Battle.	O. S.; H. W. i, 148.
	PRE-R.	Traces of settlement?	P. S. A. 2 s. xviii, 14.
	PRE-R. or ROM.	'British urn' near National School.	Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Pottery at Mill Lane and Chapel Lane.	Ash. Mus.; Manning MSS.
		Pits at Gould's Grove.	Manning MSS.
		Rubbish pits, NE. of Church.	O. A. H. S. iv, 344; O. A. H. Cat. 3; B. B. O. ii, 44.
		Coins.	T. H. Powell Coll., Manning MSS.
		Coins and rowels N. of Howbery Park.	O. S.
	POST-R.	Saxon spear-head and knife.	Mr. F. B. Chamberlain (inf. Mr. T. Colyer).
	? POST-R.	Battle-axe and spear, SE. of village.	O. S.
		Iron knife and pottery, Chapel Lane.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 500, 508.

[1] The Manning Collection was acquired for the Ashmolean Museum in 1921 and the objects included in this survey are entered in the Register of Accessions for that year under Nos. 9 to 175.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Benson (*cont.*)	Ⓔ	Square entrenchment, 'Medler's Bank', W. of Church; human and animal remains, spurs, swords, etc.	Plot 325; He. R. 260; He. C. v, 315; G. C. ii, 28; B. B. 356; B. B. O. ii, 44.
	?	'Human remains', Preston Crowmarsh.	O. S.
		'Human remains', NE. of Crowmarsh Hill.	O. S.
Berrick Salome	PRE-R.	Uninscribed British gold coin.	W. R. Davies Sale 1893, Lot 21.
	? ROM.	Tiles.	He. C. vi, 323.
Bicester	ROM.	Fragment of Arretine Ware.	P. S. A. 2 s. xxi, 462.
		Road?	D. Bic. 135 n.; Blom. i, 13.
		Fibula.	B. A. A. xi, 158.
	Ⓔ	Entrenchment in Gravenhill Wood.	O. S.; Plot 342; C. M. B. iv, 410; K. 689; D. B. P, ii, 55; Kid. 56.
Bix	PRE-R.	Neolithic implements.	Read. Mus.
Black Bourton	Ⓔ	Round barrow between Bourton and Clanfield.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
		'Round Hill Ground' near Rock Farm.	Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Coins at 'Black Lands'.	B. B. O. iv, 12.
Blackthorn	? PRE-R.	Contracted skeleton, urn and ivory whistle at Freeman's Hill, 1819.	D. B. P. i, 60.
	ROM.	Pottery and bronze object.	B. B. O. iv, 11.
	?	Six skeletons on Blackthorn Hill, 1775.	D. B. P. i, 60; Blom. i, 21.
Bladon	Ⓔ	Circular earthwork called 'Round Castle'. 'Bricks' found here.	Plot 343; He. C. iii, 408; V. C. H. ii, 310.
Blenheim (*see* Woodstock)			
Bletchington	PRE-R.	Ens-*low*.	O. S.
Bloxham	ROM.	Flue; coins, pottery, N. of road to Milcombe, 1841.	B. Ban. 609.
		Coins, etc., at Bloxham Grove, 1853–4.	O. S.; B. Ban. 45; N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 17.
Bodicote	ROM.	Coins near Cotefield House.	Manning MSS. (map).
Bourton	PRE-R.	Gold coin inscr. ANTEΘ.I.OV at Little Bourton, 1842.	P. N. S. i, 88 (22 Dec. 1842) [N. C. vi]; B. A. A. ii, 24, fig.; A. B. C. 144.
Brighthampton	PRE-R.	Pit-dwelling; animal bones, flint-saw, 1858.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 233, fig.; A. S. I. 294; Ash. Mus. N. C. 205.
		Late Celtic bronze ornament.	B. Mus. 1858, Mar. 5, No. 1.
	ROM.	Silver and bronze coins.	A. xxxvii, 395; xxxviii, 85–6.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Malt House Farm, 1858 and 1892.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 96, 217, 231, 329; 2 s. ii, 442; de B. 99; A. xxxviii, 87; B. B. O. iv, 12.
Brightwell Baldwin	ROM.	Urns and glass vessel at Bushy Leas.	Plot 335, pl. 15; C. M. B. iv, 212.
		Urn containing *c.* 1500 coins.	O. J., 23 June 1759.
Brightwell Hill	Ⓔ	Entrenchments (? = Swyncombe Down).	B. B. 316.
Britwell Salome	ROM.	Urns, E. of Britwell Church, *c.* 1849.	B. B. O. iv, 12.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Brize Norton	PRE-R.	Gold coin of Eppaticus at 'Norton Bridge (? Brize) five miles from Witney'.	B. Roth Sale, 1st Portion, 1917, Lot 22, pl. 1.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon (?) burials.	B. B. O. iv, 13.
Broadwell	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implement.	A. S. I. 594; Manning MSS.
Broughton	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implement.	Information from Mr. W. Potts.
	?	Skeleton at the Bretch.	B. Ban. 43.
Broughton Poggs	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Kinchin Knoll, 1856.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 73; A. xxxvii, 140; B. B. O. ii, 101.
		Iron spear, 1835.	Ash. Mus. 1836, p. 124, 77 c.
Bucknell	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-head near Trow Pool.	Ash. Mus. 1920, 138.
Burcot	PRE-R.	Neolithic whetstone and celt.	B. A. A. Glouc. 100, pl. 8; A. S. I. 264, fig. 181.
	ROM.	Villa, *c.* 1876.	O. S.; Manning MSS.
Burford	ROM.	Coins of Vespasian and Severus, 1872.	Manning MSS.
		Coins at Signet.	Plot 341, W. D. B. 42.
	? ROM.	Skeleton in stone coffin with iron-studded leather shoes.	Bur. F. 32; Bur. M. 9; G. M. L. A. ii, 188.
	? ROM.	Iron keys.	O. A. H. S. iii, 171.
Cassington	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implement from R. Evenlode.	Mr. A. M. Bell; Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Coins, between Cassington and Worton.	B. B. O. iv, 13.
Caversfield	? ROM.	Skeleton and fragment of Roman pottery at Skimming Dish [Hill], *c.* 1897.	Manning MSS.
Caversham (*see* R. Thames)	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implements at Toots Farm, Henley Road, etc.	Read. Mus.; G. W. Smith Coll.; I. Treacher Coll.; A. S. I. 592; Q. J. G. S. xlvi, 582; xlix, 310; Man, 1904, 17.
		Neolithic flint implements.	Read. Mus.; Manning MSS.; Stevens 9.
		Neolithic flint dagger at allotments near Caversham Mill.	„ „
		Flint arrow-head.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 527.
		Burials and pottery, 1907.	Manning MSS. (G. W. Smith inf.).
		Pit dwelling; pottery, flint scraper, etc., and piece of bronze at Kidmore Road.	Read. Mus.
	ROM.	Coins of Constantinus I and Valens at Caversham Hill.	„
		Pottery and coins at Blagrave's Farm.	„
Chadlington	Ⓔ	Round barrow, SW. of Old Downs Farm.	O. S.; B. Ban. 1 s. pl. iv; V. C. H. ii, 345.
	Ⓔ	Round barrow, N. of Barter's Hill Farm.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
	PRE-R.	Neolithic implements near Partridge Covert.	Manning MSS.
		Pits; human and animal bones, pottery (*see also* Churchill).[1]	Essex Naturalist i, 265.

[1] The site is crossed by the boundary between Chadlington and Churchill Parishes.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Chadlington (*cont.*)	Ⓔ	Square camp, Knollbury.	O. S.; I. C. 48; Kid. 57–8; V. C. H. ii, 317.
Chalgrove	PRE-R.	British gold coin on Chalgrove Field, 1891.	Ash. Mus. 1892, 732.
	Ⓔ	Remains of irregular ditch at Manor Farm.	V. C. H. ii, 328.
Charlbury		Palaeolithic implement.	Sotheby, Sale Cat., Nov. 9, 1921, Lot 14.
	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-heads, scrapers.	Camb. Ant. Soc. xiv, 60; O. U. G. xli, 958.
	ROM.	Pottery between Charlbury and Spelsbury.	Information from Mr. F. Kibble.
Chastleton	Ⓔ	Camp, called Chastleton Barrow; bone pin, etc.	Plot 342; C. M. B. iv, 394; J. A. I. x, 124; Rol. i, 460; C. A. vii, 108; V. C. H. ii, 312–13, plan.
	?	'Fourshire' stone.	C. B. 198.
Checkendon	Ⓔ	Polygonal earthwork, 'Castle Grove', near Wyfold.	V. C. H. ii, 333, plan.
	PRE-R.	Polished flint celt at 'Little Stoke', 1901.	Manning MSS.
		Flint implements at Watch Folly.	O. S.; Manning MSS.
	Ⓔ	Irregular earthwork, Castle Grove, Wyfold.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 333.
Chesterton	Ⓔ	Round barrow opposite Oxford Lodge, Middleton Park.	K. 18; Blom. i, 20.
Chimney	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials at Chimney Farm.	B. B. O. iv, 13.
Chinnor	Ⓔ	Round barrow, N. of Chinnor Hill cottages.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
		Twin round barrows, SW. of Bledlow Cross.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
	POST-R.	Iron spear-heads, bronze chape, etc., from twin barrows, 1885.	Manning MSS. (sketch).
Chipping Norton	PRE-R.	Flint arrows, barbed and leaf-shaped.	Manning MSS.
		British gold coin.	A. B. C. 67; B. Mus.
	Rom.	Coins.	Plot 341; I. C. 45; P. S. A. 2 s. iii, 395; B. B. O. iv, 13.
Churchill	Ⓔ	Round barrow, S. of Besbury Lane.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
		Round barrow (?), SW. of Mount Farm.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
	PRE-R.	Flint arrows, scrapers, part of polished celt.	Manning MSS.
		Pit-dwellings, NE. of Sarsgrove Wood.	Manning MSS.; Essex Naturalist i, 265.
		Gold coin COMVX.	A. B. C. 142.
	Rom.	Coins, N. of Rectory.	B. B. O. iv, 14.
Clanfield	Ⓔ	Barrow, *c.* ½ m. E. of Friar's Court.	Old O. S.
Clifton Hampden (*see* R. Thames)	PRE-R.	Skeleton and beaker in churchyard, 1864.	P. S. A. 2 s. iii, 21; Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, Pr. 375.
		Bronze palstaves. 1852.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 345.
	? PRE-R.	Lines of trenches, etc., at Fullamoor Farm, 1895.	B. B. O. iv, 14; P. S. A. 2 s. xviii, 15.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Clifton Hampden (*cont.*)	? POST-R.	Burials with 'battle-axes, swords', etc., N. of village.	Manning MSS.
Cogges	PRE-R.	Bronze palstave at Newland.	B. Mus. Greenwell Coll.
Cokethorpe (*see* Standlake)			
Combe	PRE-R.	Gold-plated ring money at Westfield Farm.	O. T. 14 Oct. 1911; Ash. Mus. Rep. 1911, p. 14.
	ROM.	Coins from Bury Field, etc.	Manning MSS.
		Hoard of small bronze coins, *c.* 1690.	He. C. iii, 332.
	? ROM.	Iron horseshoes from R. Evenlode, *c.* 1780.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 485.
Cornbury Park	Ⓔ	Two round barrows and earthworks on E. side of Park.	Plot 343; O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
Cote (*see* Aston and Cote)			
Cowley	Ⓔ	Hillock, 'Bullington Pen', on Bullingdon Green.	Reliquiae Hernianae, 2nd ed., iii, 26.
	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-heads and scrapers at Cowley Marsh.	Manning Coll.; O. M. C. No. 10; B. B. O. iv, 20.
	PRE-R.	British gold coin, 1859.	A. B. C. 67.
	ROM.	Barrows (?) on Bullingdon Common; human bones, pottery, bronze 'mace-head', etc., *c.* 1860.	P. O. 64; O. A. H. Cat. 4; B. B. O. iv, 20; V. C. H. ii, 348.
Crawley	Ⓔ	Two barrows, S. of Blindwell Wood.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
		Barrow, S. of Chase Green.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
		Barrow, NW. of Chasewood Farm.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
		Barrow, SW. of Chasewood Farm.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 345.
	ROM.	Barrow; skeletons and bronze and iron buckles; sherds and coins, 1857 and 1864.	A. xxxvii, 432; xlii, 175; V. C. H. ii, 347–8; Manning MSS.; B. B. O. iv, 15.
Crowmarsh Gifford	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint celt, S. of Howbery Park.	Ash. Mus. 1918, 21; Manning MSS.
		Fragments of celts.	Manning MSS.
Cuddesdon	ROM. and POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials; glass vases, swords, bronze bucket, etc.	Bishop of Oxford; Ash. Mus. Manning MSS. Adds.; A. J. iv, 157; A. P. S. 11, pl. vi; 28, pl. xiii; De B. 106, pl. xiv, 4; P. S. A. 1 s. ii, 280; 2 s. xxx, 79, fig. 17.
Culham	PRE-R.	Bronze spear-head and flanged celt.	A. B. I. 75, 320, figs. 55, 392.
	ROM.	Urns near Nuneham Park.	B. Mus., 19 July 1862, No. 15; Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 6.
	? ROM.	Pottery and animal bones, 1862.	O. A. H. S. i, 116.
Curbridge	Ⓔ	'Fosse' between Curbridge Down Farm and Witney Park Farm.	O. S.
Cutslow (*see* Water Eaton)		Cuts-*low* ('Cuddeslowe').	O. S.
Deddington	Ⓔ	Irregular entrenchment, Ilbury Camp.	B. Ban. 12; N. O. A. Trs. 1878, p. 3; V. C. H. ii, 311, plan; O. S.
	ROM.	Pottery tiles and coins, *c.* 1863.	Rol. MSS. (Manning MSS.).
		Pits with pottery, ashes, etc., in 'Parish Pit'.	B. B. O. iv, 15.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Deddington (*cont.*)		Foundations, pottery, etc., at Hazelhedge Farm.	B. B. O. iv, 15.
		Aureus of Florianus.	N. C. xv, 79.
Ditchley (*see* Enstone and Spelsbury)			
Dorchester	Ⓔ	Entrenchments, N. of village, called 'All-Ditch Banks' (destroyed).	He. R. 262.
		Barrow, now destroyed.	K. 687.
		Entrenchments called 'The Dyke Hills'.	Plot 329; S. S. 43; G. C. ii, 28; C. M. B. iv, 426; S. O. Dorch. Hund. 2, pl. 6; P. S. A. n. s. v, 222; J. E. S. ii, 412, 477, pl. xxvi; O. A. H. S. ii, 224; iii, 4; Reading Mercury, 27 Sept. 1890; R. B. x, 24.
	PRE-R.	Flint knife, arrow-head, etc., near Dyke Hills.	A. S. I, 247, 332, 384, fig. 318A; J. E. S. ii, 413; P. S. A. 2 s. v, 222; Ash. Mus.; Pitt-Rivers; Manning MSS.; G. O. T. 480.
		Hammer-head of hornblende-gneiss.	Ash. Mus. 1921, 1.
		Bronze celts and palstaves.	A. B. I. 75, 76, 78, 83, 86, 87, 93, 109, 111, figs. 57, 73, 111, 115; R. B. x, 25.
		Part of human pelvis transfixed by point of bronze spear, at Queenford.	Ash. Mus.
		Greco-Gallic vase.	T., 23 Sept. 1893, p. 11, col. 5.
		Gold, silver, and bronze coins of Dubnovellaunus, Tasciovanus, Cunobeline, etc.	S. O. Dorch. Hund. 2, 10 fig.; Ash. Mus. Coin Cat., 1833, No. 61; A. B. C. 65, 88, 203, 229, 261, 298, 321, 329, 335, suppl. 537, 545, pls. D 13, v, 9, vii, 2; N. C. o. s. ii, 191; iii, 153; xiv, 71; E. K. Burstal Sale, 1912, Lots 30 and 35, pl. 1; W. R. Davies Sale, 1893, Lot 24; B. A. A. i, 157; O. U. Coins.
		Gold coin of Cunobeline at Overy.	W. R. Davies Sale, Lot 27.
		Traces of settlement-pits, etc.	P. S. A. 2 s. xviii, 14.
		Traces of pathway, 1722.	He. C. viii, 2.
	? PRE-R.	Penannular bronze fibula, Dorchester Dykes.	Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, Pr. 459.
	ROM.	Inscribed altar, 1731.	M. S. A. i, 281; H. B. R. ii, 339, 352, pl. No. 76; G. C. ii, 28; S. O. Dorch. Hund. 2; C. I. L. B. 33, No. 83; Gale MS. 273.
		Tessellated pavements.	O. S.; B. B. 518; O. T. 4 June 1866.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Dorchester (*cont.*)	ROM.	5 silver spoons, ¼ m. SE. of village.	P. S. A. 2 s. v, 321; B. Mus. 25 July 1872, 1–5; O. A. H. S. iii, 124.
		Large urn containing glass vases in garden of Vicarage, 1866.	O. A. H. S. ii, 98–9; Ash. Mus. 1886, 28–30; P. S. A. 2 s. iii, 321; iv, 130.
		Skeleton, fibulae, key, etc.	O. U. G. xlv, 658.
		Pottery.	Ash. Mus. Rep. 1895, p. 5; Ash. Mus. 1921, 7.
		Urns and cistern at Manor Farm.	B. B. O. iv, 15.
		Patera of Samian ware in churchyard.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 1617.
		Pottery and lamp near R. Thames, 1866.	A. J. xxiii, 73.
		Fibulae, rings, mirrors and other bronze objects.	O. A. H. S. iii, 170–1.
		Coins.	Ash. Mus. (Cozens Coll.); B. A. A. ix, 83; R. B. x, 26; O. S. Colls., Southampton (Haverfield MSS.); C. M. B. iv, 426.
		Pottery and coins.	He. L. ii, 11; v, 152.
		Coins at Overy Close.	He. C. vi, 323; viii, 2.
		Pottery and coins, 1711.	He. C. iii, 175.
		Coin (3 B) of Allectus.	Glastonbury Mus.
	? ROM.	Skeletons on E. bank of R. Thames below Little Wittenham Bridge.	B. B. O. iv, 15.
		Sherds, iron nails, Dorchester Dykes, 1871.	Univ. Mus., Rol. Coll.; R. B. x, 26.
	POST-R.	Skeletons, with bronze buckles, brooches, belt clasps, etc., at S. end of Dyke Hills.	O. S.; Ash. Mus. 1886, 1448; De B. 94, pl. xii, 1; R. B. x, 26; L. A. S. 55, fig. 8.
		Burials with saucer brooches, iron spear and knife.	Read. Mus. Cat. 52.
		Burial in garden S. of Bishop's Court.	O. S.
		Iron knife and bone pin, Dyke Hills.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 170, 799 d.
		Skeleton with mattock? and part of cross, W. end of Dyke Hills.	G. C. ii, 28.
		Part of cloisonné jewel, *c.* 1776.	M. S. A. xv, 40–1 (sketch).
		Iron spear-head near Burcot, 1863.	P. S. A. 2 s. ii, 209; B. B. O. ii, 101.
		Gold solidus of Mauritius and silver sceattas.	S. O. Dorch. Hund. 10, fig.
Drayton, N. Oxon.	? PRE-R.	Bronze palstave? (*see* Drayton St. Leonard).	B. Mus. (Greenwell Coll.).
	ROM.	Villa near Church, 1783.	B. B. 518; B. Ban. 44.
		Hoard of bronze coins, Maximinus to Julian.	B. Ban. 44, pl. vi, 6 and 9.
Drayton St. Leonard	PRE-R.	Bronze palstave (?) (*see* Drayton, N. Oxon.).	B. Mus. (Greenwell Coll.).
		Skeletons and beaker, 1862.	P. S. A. 2 s. ii, 204; iii, 21; B. B. O. ii, 101.
		Skeletons and urns (?).	B. B. O. iv, 16.
Ducklington	PRE-R.	Gold coin, inscribed VOCORIOAD, 1869.	A. B. C. suppl. 488; Ash. Mus.; O. U. Coins.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Ducklington (*cont.*)		Anglo-Saxon burials, gold pendant, beads, comb, etc.	P. S. A. 2 s. i, 100.
Duns Tew	PRE-R.?	Pigmy flint.	O. U. G. xli, 958.
	ROM.	Sculptured slab and pottery, 1861, south of Ilbury Camp.	G. M. 3 s. (1862), 568, 709; P. S. A. 2 s. ii, 85; O. A. H. S. i, 80; Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 6 (not Great Tew).
		Denarius of Caracalla, Vicarage garden.	Manning Coll.
Elsfield	PRE-R.	Polished neolithic celt, Colley (? College) Pond.	Dryden MSS.
		Long flint flake.	Ash. Mus.
		Bone implement.	Ash. Mus. 1889, 41.
Emington	ROM.	Coins in Down Covert, *c.* 1875.	B. B. O. iv, 16.
Enstone	PRE-R.	Round barrow (?), near Kiddington Drive, Ditchley Park.	V. C. H. ii, 346.
		Round barrow, in Round Hill Field, SW. of Lidstone.	Ens. 22, 29; V. C. H. ii, 346.
		Ruined dolmen, 'Hoar Stone'; animal bones and pieces of Roman-British pottery found beneath.	Plot 351; G. C. i, 294; He. C. viii, 269; C. M. B. iv, 394; A. xxv, 54; xxxvii, 433; xlii, 202; G. M. xciv, 125; G. M. L. A. ii, 67; Lukis 12; Lukis MSS.; B. Ban. 7; Ens. 8; N. O. A. Rep. 1897–8, p. 40.
	? ROM.	Remains of buildings, NW. of Lodge Farm.	N. L. S. 20; Kid. 67 n.; S. O. Wootton Hund. 9, 20.
	ROM.	Tessellated pavement near Devil's Pool, Ditchley.	J. E. S. n. s. i, 4.
		Various remains.	Ens. 51; A. xxxvii, 433.
		Coins, W. of Outwood.	O. S.
Ewelme	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implements from Rumbold's Pit and Painter's Pit.	Ash. Mus.; O. U. G. xlii, 987.
		Polished flint celt, Painter's Pit, 1910.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 529.
		Flint scraper, Rumbold's Pit.	—— 1911, 534.
		Flint celt, Ewelme Park, 1895.	—— 1911, 531.
		Flint celts, arrow-heads, scrapers, etc., Ewelme Downs.	——; O. U. G. xlii, 987.
		Urns (?) and hammer-stones, Rumbold's Pit.	P. S. A. 2 s. xxii, 71; Ash. Mus. 1911, 495, 504.
	ROM.	Hoard of coins, Domitian to Carausius, Harcourt Hill, 1722.	He. C. vii, 333, 337–8, 346; viii, 3; C. M. B. iv, 429; He. H. preface xi–xii; M. S. A. i, 57; H. W. i, 120; Poin. 12.
		Coins at Rectory and Manor House, etc.	O. S.; B. B. O. iv, 16.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials; bronze bowl, Painter's Pit.	P. S. A. 2 s. xxii, 71, fig. 1.
		Anglo-Saxon vase near Rumbold's Copse.	P. S. A. 2 s. xxii, 71; Manning MSS.; Ash. Mus. 1911, 505.
		Anglo-Saxon vase near village.	Ash. Mus. 1917, 33.
Eynsham (*see* R. Thames)	Ⓔ	Irregular earthwork in Woodley's Copse, Eynsham Park.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 313–14.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Eynsham (*cont.*)	Ⓔ	Circular? earthwork, E. of Eynsham Park.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 335.
	PRE-R.	Polished stone celt.	A. S. I. 101; Ash. Mus. 1895, 68.
		Polished stone celt, Eynsham Park.	J. F. Mason, Esq.
		Bronze palstave, Freeland.	A. B. I. 79.
	? PRE-R.	Traces of settlement? near Foxley Farm.	B. B. O. iv, 17; P. S. A. 2 s. xviii, 15.
	ROM.	Neck of vase, Cassington Road.	Manning MSS.
		Coin of Constantius II, Churchyard, 1895.	Manning Coll.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon bone comb and three double-ended bone pins, 1831.	Ash. Mus. 1836, p. 124, 75–7.
		Enamelled disc on site of Eynsham Abbey.	Sketch in Ash. Mus.
Fawler	Ⓔ	Barrow, 'Mary Hills Grave' now destroyed, between Fawler and Stonesfield.	He. C. iii, 402.
	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-heads near Hill Barn Farm.	Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Villa near Oaklands Farm, 1813.	N. L. S. 20; S. O. Wootton Hund. 9, 20.
		Villa, tessellated pavement, S. end of village, 1865.	O. A. H. S. n. s. ii, 348; iii, 39; B. B. O. iv, 17; Haverfield MSS. (24 Dec. 1914).
		Hoard of coins, Ashey Close, *c.* 1835.	B. B. O. iv, 17.
		Pottery (inscribed) and coins.	A. xxxvii, 433.
Fencot-on-Otmoor (*see* Beckley)	ROM.	Pottery, fibula, and coins.	G. M. lxxxvii, 311; Hus. 34; B. A. A. xii, 177; Blom. i, 19; A. J. xxxi, 357.
Filkins	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon cemetery.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 73; A. xxxvii, 142; B. B. O. ii, 101.
Finstock	ROM.	Coins in garden of School House.	Information from Mr. F. Kibble.
Freeland (*see* Eynsham)			
Fordwells (*see* Asthall Leigh and Wychwood)			
Fringford	ROM.	Villa, tessellated pavement, etc., Fringford Lodge, *c.* 1860.	Blom. i, 17.
		Coins, Glebe Farm.	Plot 341; Blom. i, 18.
Fritwell	Ⓔ	Round barrow, 'Ploughley Hill'; skeletons; now destroyed.	Plot 333; C. M. B. iv, 212; I. C. i, 43; B. P. L. pt. iv, 150; N. O. A. Trs. 1887, p. 3; Blom. i, 20; V. C. H. ii, 348.
Fulbrook (*see* Swinbrook)			
Garsington	PRE-R.	Double-looped bronze palstave.	Read. Mus. Cat. 32.
		Bronze socketed celt.	Read. Mus. Cat. 32.
		Gold coin of Cunobeline.	A. B. C. 304, pl. ix, 14; Ash. Mus.
	ROM.	Stone-pitched road between Crook's Lane and Hillsdon Lane, 1887.	B. B. O. iv, 17.
		Coins at Northfield Farm.	B. B. O. iv, 18.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Garsington (*cont.*)	Ⓔ	'Aewardeslowe.'	Magd. College Deeds (Manning MSS.).
Glympton	Ⓔ	Round barrow in Hark Wood.	Old O. S.; ? Plot 333; V. C. H. ii, 346.
		Flint arrow-heads at Glympton Assarts.	Manning MSS.
Goring	PRE-R.	Neolithic implements.	Read. Mus.
		Gold coin of Tasciovanus with 13 other coins, Cleeve, *c.* 1903.	Manning MSS.; Ash Mus. 1919, 3.
		Gold coin, uninscribed, 1881.	W. R. Davies Sale, 1893, Lot 25.
	ROM.	Denarius of Marcus Aurelius, Goring Heath.	Read. Mus.
Great Haseley	? PRE-R.	Cinerary urn, Haseley Field.	B. B. O. iv, 18.
		Bronze palstave, Rycote.	Ash. Mus. 1888, 865.
Great Rollright	ROM.	Coins (Tetricus to Valens) at Church End farm.	Haverfield MSS.
Great Tew	Ⓔ?	Barrow ?, 'Round Hill', SE. of Swerford Heath.	O. S.
	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint celt near French's Hollow.	O. T. 18 Jan. 1908; Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Villa; burials, coins, etc., Beaconsfield Farm.	O. S.; Plot 335, pl. xv, 22; C. M. B. iv, 212 and 382; B. B. 462; G. M. lxxxi, 388; G. M. L. A. i, 261; B. Ban. 39, pl. x, 1; Topham Coll. Eton College Lib., B m. 9, No. 79.
		Tessellated pavement.	Plot 335, pl. xv, 22; B. Ban. 41, pl. x, 2; Ash. Mus. 1836, p. 127, Nos. 189–90.
		Urns.	Ash. Mus. 1836, p. 126, No. 165.
Grim's Ditch, N. Oxon.	Ⓔ	Embankment.	O. S.; Plot 328; I. C. i, 47; Kid. 62, 66, 68–9; He. C. vi, 187; Ens. 50; J. E. S. n. s. i, 1.
Grim's Ditch, S. Oxon.	Ⓔ	Embankment.	O. S.; Plot 324; C. M. B. iv, 210; J. S. Burn, History of Henley-on-Thames, 14; Clim. 7.
Hampton Gay	?	Bronze armilla with rings of iron and glass, from R. Cherwell.	Plot 352–5, pl. xvi, 4.
Handborough	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic flint implement.	O. U. G. xxxviii, 752.
Hanwell	ROM.	Villa, tessellated pavements; human skeletons; pewter dishes; hoard of 70 silver coins, Nero to Lucius Verus.	O. S.; B. Ban. 44, pl. vi, 2–4.
		Pottery-kiln in Camp Spinney, N. of Spring Farm, 1892.	B. B. O. iv, 18.
Hardwick	PRE-R.	Cinerary urn.	P. S. A. 2 s. vii, 100, fig.; O. A. H. Cat. 3.
Harpsden	Ⓔ	Small entrenchment in wood SW. of church.	Plot 341.
	ROM.	Coins near same site.	Plot 341.
		Villa; coins, pottery, etc., near Harpsden Wood House.	A. J. lxviii, 43.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Headington (*see* Shotover)	PRE-R.	Partly polished flint celt, found in brook N. of village, 1865.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 217.
		Polished celt, 1901.	Pitt-Rivers.
		Flint scraper, garden in village.	Ash. Mus. 1910, 521.
		Flint scrapers, etc., near Cowley Marsh.	B. B. O. iv, 20.
		Bronze socketed spear-head, Sandhill, 1892.	B. B. O. iv, 18.
	ROM.	Pottery-kilns, rubbish pits.	B. B. O. iv, 19.
		Pottery on site of road at Headington Brickworks.	Haverfield MSS.
		Pottery in valley between Headington and Cowley Marsh.	B. B. O. iv, 19–20.
		House; pottery, coins (Tetricus to Gratian), Wick Farm, 1849.	A. J. v, 159; vi, 183; I. L. N., 14 April 1849; B. A. A. vi, 52, pl.; B. B. O. iv, 20.
		Traces of buildings and pottery near Headington Wick.	A. J. xii, 284.
		Human skeleton, N. of Wick Farm.	B. B. O. iv, 19.
		Urn, Headington Hill, 1873.	O. A. H. S. iii, 125; Ash. Mus. 1873, 174.
	POST-R.	Clay rings, Headington Hill Reservoir, 1876.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 240–4: G. L. V. ii, 578.
Hempton Winnall	ROM.	Burials; pottery, etc.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, p. 17.
Henley-on-Thames	PRE-R.	Bronze sword.	B. A. A. xxxviii, 275, fig. 1.
	? ROM.	Urns in Market Place and at Windmill Hill.	Plot 337, 339.
	ROM.	Coins in Market Place.	Gale 106.
	POST-R.	Late Saxon iron spear-head.	B. A. A. xxxviii, 265, fig. 2.
Hensington (Woodstock)	PRE-R.	Flint arrows near Sansom's Farm.	Manning MSS.
	? PRE-R.	Bronze fibula of Late Celtic type at Beech Hill Clump, S. of Sansom's Farm, 1893.	Ash. Mus. 1894, 18; G. L. V. i, 195.
	ROM.	Pottery, fibulae, coins, etc., at same site as preceding.	O. S.; Manning MSS.; Ash. Mus. 1886, 567.
Holton	PRE-R.	Bronze socketed celt, Holton Park, 1856.	O. A. H. Cat. 3; B. B. O. iv, 21.
	? PRE-R.	Human skeleton with blue and white glass bead, 'Cockshoot Field', 1871.	O. A. H. Cat. 3; B. B. O. iv, 21.
	ROM.	Indented vase.	A. J. iv, 74, fig.
		Cemetery; cremation urns, coin, etc., in 'The Racks'.	O. A. H. Cat. 4; B. B. O. iv, 21.
		Stone altar uninscribed, rubbish pits, sherds, etc., in 'Hampstead Field'.	Ash. Mus. 1909, 1123; Haverfield MSS.
Hook Norton	Ⓔ	Twin barrows, bones and ashes, [Upper] Berryfields Farm (destroyed).	Old O. S.; B. Ban. 15, pl. vi; V. C. H. ii, 348.
		Barrow, 'Round Hill', N. of village.	O. S.
		Pentagonal camp, SW. of Tadmarton Camp.	O. S.; Plot 342; G. C. i, 295; Kid. 55; K. 39; B. Ban. 43.
	PRE-R.	Bronze looped palstave (*see under* Wardington).	G. C. Druce, Esq.; ? N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 119.
	ROM.	Bronze fibula, etc., 'Goosacre'.	P. S. A. 2 s. xxiii, 406, fig.
		Coins.	Manning MSS.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Hook Norton (*cont.*)	ROM.	Skeletons and coins at Southrop.	Manning MSS.
Horley	ROM.	Coins.	Plot 341.
Hornton	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials; brooches, beads, etc.	B. Mus. 1886, 23 March, 10–14.
Horspath	? ROM.	Human skeletons, by Roman Road.	B. B. O. iv, 22.
	?	Human skeleton with bronze object, Horspath Hill, *c.* 1847.	Manning MSS.
Horton-cum-Studley	ROM.	Stone-pitched roadway and pottery in Studley Wood.	A. J. viii, 313.
		Coins, W. of Studley Park and E. of Studley Wood.	B. B. O. iv, 42.
Idbury	Ⓔ	Large oval earthwork.	Plot 341; He. C. iii, 403; ? Kid. 60; V. C. H. ii, 315.
	PRE-R.	Flint barbed arrow-head near the Camp.	Information from Miss Jones.
	ROM.	Coins near the Camp.	Plot 341.
	POST-R.	? Identical with mint of Gothabyrig, 978–1039.	N. C. 3 s. xv, 45.
Iffley	ROM.	Coin of ? Titus.	Ash. Mus. 1913, 308.
		Pottery-kilns, Mount Pleasant.	Iff. 156.
		Vase, *c.* 1902.	Ash. Mus. 1912, 1133.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon brooch.	B. Mus. R. 1874, Nov. 5, No. 1; De B. 43, pl. iv, 8.
Ilbury (*see* Deddington)			
Ipsden	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implements.	A. S. I. 593; H. W. i, 29.
		Flint arrow-heads, scrapers, etc., near Little Stoke Farm.	Manning MSS.
		Gold coins, Addedomaros and uninscribed, at Berin's Hill.	O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 3; W. R. Davies Sale, 1893, Lots 23 and 31.
	Ⓔ	Earthwork near church.	H. W. i, 118.
	? ROM.	Well at Berin's Hill.	O. S.
	? ROM.	Shaft-pit.	T. 5 Oct. 1860; A. xlvi, 449; Coote, 108.
	ROM.	Denarius of Pupienus and pottery near Rajah's Well, Stoke Row.	O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 4.
		Denarius of Diadumenianus and other coins near Icknield Way.	O. S.; O. A. H. S., n. s. iii, 4.
		'Roman coins found' N. of Hailey Farm.	O. S.
		'Roman coins found' N. of Wilders' Barn.	O. S.
	?	'Human remains' near Berin's Hill.	O. S.
Islip	PRE-R.	Neolithic hammer-stone.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 232.
		Gold-plated bronze and tin coins, at Middle Hill, near Wood Eaton.	B. B. O. iv, 43; J. R. S. vii, 119.
	PRE-R. and ROM.	Foundations; bronze fibulae, pins, statuettes, spur; pottery, coins, etc., at Middle Hill.	O. S.; Hus. 37; Isl. 4: N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, p. 14; Ash. Mus.; Reliquary, Apr. 1908; J. R. S. vii, 98, pl. vi–vii; A. J. xiii, 179, fig.; xxxi, 357; P. S. A. 2 s. xxx, 57–8.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Islip (*cont.*)	ROM.	Hoard of coins of Magnentius and Decentius at Middle Hill.	O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 174, 223: B. B. O. iv, 3; N. C. Proc. 18 Mar. 1875.
	POST-R.	Late Saxon inlaid stirrup and iron spear from R. Ray, 1876.	Ash. Mus. 1876, 95; 1884, 515 a; A. J. xxxiv, 464, fig.
Kelmscot	PRE-R. or ? ROM.	Traces of ? settlement.	P. S. A. 2 s. xviii, 15.
Kencot	ROM.	Coin of Constantine I at Kencot Manor.	Ash. Mus. 1920, 246.
	? POST-R.	Iron key and spear-head at Kencot Manor, *c.* 1901.	Ash. Mus. 1920, 247–8.
Kiddington	Ⓔ	Round barrow in King's Wood Brake.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 346.
		Round barrow, N. of Kiddington. Assart's Farm.	O. S.; Plot 333; V. C. H. ii, 346 ('north of Wood Farm').
		Square entrenchment in Hill Wood.	Kid. 66; Sir G. O. P. Turner, Top. Mems. for County of Oxford, 1820.
	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-heads near Outwood.	Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Silver coins; fibulae, pottery, etc., near Hill Wood, *c.* 1870.	Manning MSS.
Kidlington	ROM.	Foundations, well and pottery near Church, 1840.	K. Y. B. pref. 17.
		Coins, N. of Campsfield Farm.	Manning Coll.
		Handled vase, E. of Station.	P. O. 76 n. 2; Ash. Mus. 1913, 149.
	POST-R.	Burial with iron 'seax', 1892.	Bristol Mus.
Kidmore End		Palaeolithic implement.	Read. Mus.
		Neolithic celt.	Kidmore End School Coll.
		Neolithic celt at Tokers Green.	Read. Mus.
Kingham	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implement.	W. F. 6.
	ROM.	Bronzes, sherds, and coins near Kingham Hill Homes.	W. F. 6.
Kingsey	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon saucer-brooch, 1859.	Aylesbury Mus.; V. C. H. Bucks. i, 198; A. lxiii, 97.
		Anglo-Saxon, shield boss, spear, and knife, at Tythrop.	Taunton Mus.; Somerset Arch. Soc. Proc. v, 15 (described as 'Roman' from Prythrop Park, Oxon.).
Kirtlington	PRE-R.	'Hoar Stone Spinney', monument now destroyed.	St. A. 2; B. B. O. iv, 22.
	ROM.	Coins at Crow Castle Allotments.	B. B. O. iv, 22.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burial; two brooches; 1873.	O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 171.
Knollbury (*see* Chadlington)			
Langley	Ⓔ	Two round barrows, E. of Roustage; flint arrow-head and hone?	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 346; Dryden MSS.
		Silver coin of Antedrigus, Roustage barrows.	Dryden MSS.; A. B. C. 389[1]; N. C. n. s. iii (1863), 145.
Launton	ROM.	Coins, 'Towlands'.	Blom. i, 18.

[1] Incorrectly given as 'Whichwood Forest, Bucks.'

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Launton (*cont.*)	?	Human skeletons, 'Skimming Dish Gate', 1813.	Blom. i, 21; Manning MSS.
Leafield	Ⓔ	Round barrow, N. of Leafield.	O. S.; A. xxxvii, 433; V. C. H. ii, 346.
		Barrow; pottery, coins; iron spear; human and animal remains.	C. S. A. 56.
		Rectangular earthwork, 'Low Barrow', W. of Low Barrow House.	O. S. old.
	ROM.	Stone mortar with coins (Domitian to Constans).	B. A. A. xlv, 364.
Lew	Ⓔ	Round barrow, W. of village.	Bam. 110; V. C. H. ii, 346.
Little Milton	PRE-R.	British gold coin.	Plot 316, pl. xv, 21; A. B. C. 66.
Littlemore (*see* Sandford)	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-heads.	Manning MSS.
		Bronze looped spear-head.	A. J. xi, 186.
	?	Pits; ashes, burnt bones, near Roman Road.	Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Pottery, Littlemore Asylum, 1864.	Ash. Mus. 1875, 117.
Little Rollright	PRE-R.	Megalithic circle, 'Rollrich Stones', standing stones, barrows, etc.	C. B. 1586, p. 198; 1607, p. 265, fig.; Plot 344; He. C. viii, 113; G. C. i, 294; ii, 13; I. C. i, 48; C. M. B. iv, 392; R. S. M. 124; S. O. Chadlington Hund. 14; Gale MSS. 27; Ab. 10; N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, p. 61, pl.; B. Ban. 5; F. L. vi, 6, pl. i–iv; Lukis MSS.
	PRE-R.	Urn, 1860.	B. Mus. R. 1873, 19 Dec., No. 185.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 71.
Long Handborough (*see* ? Handborough)			
Lower Heyford	? PRE-R.	Cinerary Urn.	B. P. L. ii, 76.
	ROM.	Coins near village.	Manning MSS.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials.	Eliza Richardson, MS. Remarks on a journey into Oxfordshire, 1823, p. 27 (Ash. Mus.); A. J. i, 339; ii, 89.
	?	Skeletons, near Portway.	N. O. A. Rep. 1856–7, p. 9.
		Skeletons found in field called 'Grass Seeds'. (No. 65, 25 in. O. S.)	Manning MSS.
Lyneham	Ⓔ	Oval camp, 'The Roundabout'.	Plot 343; V. C. H. ii, 315.
	? PRE-R.	Iron bar (? currency), Lyneham Barrow.	P. S. A. 2 s. xv, 409; xxii, 341; G. L. V. ii, 403.
	PRE-R. and POST-R.	Long barrow; cists; Anglo-Saxon burials; seax, spear, etc.	Plot 343; C. M. B. iv, 377; K. 58; G. C. i, 294; P. S. A. 2 s. xv, 404; O. J. 21 Sept. 95; Dryden MSS.
	POST-R.	Skeletons, 1842, and spear-heads, 1884, at the camp.	B. B. O. iv, 23; P. S. A. 2 s. xv, 408; V. C. H. ii, 315.
		Burial with knife near the camp.	Rol. MSS.
Madmarston (*see* Swalcliffe)			

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Mapledurham (*see* R. Thames)	PRE-R.	Flint implements.	Stevens 9.
		Bronze socketed celt.	Read. Mus.
March Baldon	ROM.	Pottery and coins at Old Hop Garden, *c.* 1797.	Hus. 41.
Marston	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implements near Marston Ferry.	A. S. I. 593.
		Palaeolithic implements at 'Rippington's Farm'.	Univ. Mus., Oxford.
Merton (*see* Bicester)	ROM.	Coins at Manor House, 1888, and W. of Langford Lane.	Hus. 25; Blom. i, 12; B. B. O. iv, 23.
?	POST-R.	Iron spear-head near Gravenhill, 1828.	Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 8.
Middleton Stoney	ROM.	Bath?	Blom. i, 18 (reference to D. B. P. incorrect).
Milcombe	ROM.	'Roman remains.'	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 17.
Milton, N. Oxon.	Ⓔ	Barrow, 'Round Hill', between Milton and Bloxham; skull, 1867; (now destroyed).	B. Ban. 608; N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 18; V. C. H. ii, 348.
Minster Lovel	PRE-R.	Gold coin of Andocomius, 1866.	A. B. C. suppl. 533; Ash. Mus.; O. U. Coins.
	ROM.	Bronze fibula.	B. Mus. A. 31 Oct., 1845, No. 31.
		Coin of Constantius II at Charterville.	Manning Coll.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials.	O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 125; O. J. 16 March 1872; Ash. Mus.
		Late Saxon enamelled gold jewel.	Ash. Mus.; Earle 47, pl.
Mixbury	Ⓔ	Round barrow on 'Barrow Hill' (nearly destroyed).	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 346.
	? PRE-R.	'Human remains found', Barrow Hill.	O. S.
Mongewell (*see* R. Thames)	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint implements near Forest Row.	G. W. Smith Coll.; A. lxii, pl. xxxviii, 2–3.
		Flint arrow-heads, S. of Grim's Dyke.	Manning MSS.
		Flint scrapers.	O. U. G. xliii, 964; xlviii, 483.
Nettlebed	PRE-R.	Neolithic celt.	Read. Mus.
		Neolithic stone implement.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.
		Flint arrow-heads, scrapers, etc., at Nuffield Hill.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.
Newnham Murren	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint implements near Blenheim Farm.	Manning MSS.; T. H. Powell Coll.
North Aston	PRE-R.	Bronze looped celt at Danes Hill.	A. J. xii, 83; N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, pl. i, fig. 1.
North Leigh	Ⓔ	Entrenchment between Osney Hill and New Yatt.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 342; Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Villa; tessellated pavement, etc., excavated 1813–16 and 1909.	Kid. 67; M. S. A. xxxiv, 38; xxxv, 273; G. M. 1818, pt. i, 364; G. M. L. A. i, 261; N. L.; N. L. S.; A. xxxvii, 433; O. A. H. S. n.s. ii, 326, 346; iii, 37; Morgan 111, 117 and plate; S. O. Wootton Hund. 9; O. J. 29 Oct. 1871; B. G. 18 June 1908; O. T. 20 June 1908; Worcester Mus.; Ash. Mus. 1920, 230 ff.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Northmoor (*see* R. Thames)	ROM.	Coins, NW. of Ramsey Farm.	B. B. O. iv, 24.
North Newington	Ⓔ	Rectangular entrenchment, 'Castle Bank'.	B. Ban. 43; V. C. H. ii, 318, fig.
North Stoke	PRE-R.	Neolithic chipped and polished flint celts, etc.	Ash. Mus.; Manning MSS.: O. U. G. xlii, 987; xliii, 964; xlvi, 550.
		Flint arrow-heads near Tickledown.	Manning MSS.
		Bronze palstave, 1886.	Ash. Mus. 1911,503; Manning MSS.
		British uninscribed gold coin.	W. R. Davies Sale 1893, Lot 22; Ash. Mus. 1914, 4.
		Gold coin of Cunobeline, 1882.	W. R. Davies Sale 1893, Lot 28.
	ROM.	Coins.	H. W. i, 142; T. H. Powell Coll.; Manning MSS.
Nuffield	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-heads, scrapers, etc., from Nuffield Hill, 'Nettlebed'.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.
Nuneham (*see* R. Thames)			
Oddington	PRE-R.	Food-vessel found in 'Brismere'.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 509; B. A. P. i, 95, pl. xxix, 9.
	PRE-R. to ROM.	Pottery.	S. O. Ploughley Hund. 7; Ash. Mus. 1836, p. 126, No. 164.
	ROM.	Coin of Constantine near Oddington, 1889.	Manning MSS.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon? burials at Rectory.	Hus. 35.
Over Norton	Ⓔ	Earthwork and barrows in Over Norton Park.	Ab. 12; V. C. H. ii, 346; O. S.
Over Worton	Ⓔ	Round barrow?, N. of Church.	V. C. H. ii, 346.
Overy (*see* Dorchester)			
Oxford			
High Street		Palaeolithic implement, 1878.	A. S. I. 593.
Banbury Road		Palaeolithic implement, 1880.	A. S. I. 593.
R. Thames		Palaeolithic implements.	A. S. I. 593; O. M. C. Nos. 2–6.
Lonsdale Road, Summertown		Palaeolithic implement.	A. M. Bell Coll.; Manning MSS.
New Iffley		Palaeolithic implements.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. U. G. xxxiv, 570; xxxv, 570, xxxviii, 751; xlvi, 550.
Summertown		Palaeolithic implements.	O. U. G. xliv, 872.
Christ Church Meadow		Neolithic syenite celt.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 226; Oxf. Ind. No. 52; O. M. C. No. 8.
		Perforated stone-hammer.	J. A. I. iii, 204.
High Street		Neolithic diorite celt.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. M. C. No. 11.
Banbury Road		Neolithic diorite celt.	Oxf. Ind. No. 55.
Iffley Road		Neolithic flint celt, 1893.	Ash. Mus. 1893, 177; O. M. C. No. 6.
New Iffley		Flint cores, flakes, etc.	A. M. Bell Coll.; Manning MSS.; O. U. G. xxxviii, 751; xliii, 965; xlvii, 558.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Oxford (*cont.*)			
R. Thames, Osney		Flint blade.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. U. G. xlii, 984.
R. Thames, Folly Bridge		Neolithic diorite axe-head, 1876.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 1231; Oxf. Ind. No. 53; O. M. C. No. 9.
R. Thames, near N. Hinksey		Flint flake, 1905.	Manning Coll.; O. M. C. No. 13.
Bardwell Road		Flint flakes.	Manning Coll.; O. M. C. No. 14; Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, Pr. 53.
Lathbury Road	? PRE-R.	Sherd, (?) neolithic, 1911.	A. M. Bell Coll.; O. M. C. No. 12.
R. Thames, Hinksey Stream	PRE-R.	Neolithic stone celt.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. U. G. xlv, 658.
'Oxford'		Bronze palstave.	A. B. I. 95; B. A. A. ix, 186.
High Street		Bronze celt, 1876.	Oxf. Ind. No. 61.
R. Thames		Bronze socketed celt, 1876.	Ash. Mus. 1893, 229; Oxf. Ind. No. 50; O. M. C. No. 15.
R. Cherwell		Bronze celt and sword, 1865.	Ash. Mus. 1885, 453, N.C. 363; A. B. I. 286–7, figs. 314, 349; Oxf. Ind. No. 49; O. M. C. Nos. 16–17.
Minster Ditch, N. Hinksey		Bronze socketed celt, looped lance-head and part of spear-head, 1895–8.	Manning Coll.; B. B. O. iv, 24; O. M. C. No. 18.
Burgesses' Meadow		Hoard of bronze implements, 1830.	Ash. Mus. 1836, p. 122, Nos. 22–8; A. B. I. 81, 169, 172, 462; Oxf. Ind. No. 54; O. M. C. No. 20; P. S. A. 2 s. xxviii, 147, figs.
Leopold St., Cowley Road		Hoard of palstaves, etc., 1881.	Ash. Mus. 1881, 198; 1882, 3–8; Oxf. Ind. No. 27; O. M. C. No. 19; P. S. A. 2 s. xxviii, 149, figs.
Southmoor Road		Contracted skeletons, 1882.	A. O. 52.
Kingston Road		Contracted skeletons.	A. O. 52.
Polstead Road		Burials with beakers and flint arrow, 1888.	Ash. Mus. 1888, 758; 1889, 8; B. A. P. i, 88, pl. viii, 64. Oxf. Ind. 6; O. M. C. No. 21–2.
Summertown		Burials; beakers, flint arrow-head, 1875.	Rolleston MSS. (Manning MSS.); Ash. Mus. 1886, 1452; B. Mus. Greenwell Coll. 1787–9; B. A. P. i, 88, pl. ix, 75; O. M. C. No. 23.
Park Crescent		Skeletons and food-vessel, 1864.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 510; Oxf. Ind. No. 11; O. M. C. No. 24.
New Iffley		Cinerary urn.	Ash. Mus. Rep. 1912, p. 16, fig. 9: O. U. G. xliii, 543.
R. Thames, N. Hinksey		Late Celtic dagger-sheath, spear-heads, etc., 1895.	A. liv, 497, figs.; B. B. O. iv, 24; O. M. C. Nos. 25–6.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Oxford (*cont.*)			
Manor Road	PRE-R.	Perforated celt (?) of antler.	Ash. Mus. 1913, 527.
St. Ebbe's St.	? PRE-R.	Bone spindle-whorl and antler implement, 1882.	Ash. Mus. 1882, 135–6; O. M. C. No. 27.
High St.	? PRE-R.	Clay net-sinker or loom weight, 1873.	Ash. Mus. 1873, 173; O. M. C. No. 29; O. A. H. S. iii, 171; Oxf. Ind. No. 40.
Walton St.	? PRE-R.	Trenches and pits with stone (?) implements.	A. Clark, Wood's City of Oxford i, 348.
High St.	? PRE-R.	Bone needle (?).	Oxf. Ind. No. 39; O. A. H. S. iii, 171.
'Oxford'	ROM.	Coins of Allectus, Constantinus, etc.	Ash. Mus. 1892, 27–9; 1895, 65 and 147.
Polstead Road		Silver consular coin, 1889.	Ash. Mus. 1889, 8; Oxf. Ind. No. 5.
Polstead Road and Kingston Road		Skeleton, pottery, coins of Faustina, etc.	Ash. Mus. 1888, 1308, 1889, 9–11; A. O. 32, 52; Oxf. Ind. Nos. 2, 4, 5, 8–11, 57, 63; B. B. O. iv, 26; O. M. C. No. 34.
Chalfont Road		Coins and pottery.	Ash. Mus. 1892, 14; Oxf. Ind. 3–4*.
St. Margaret's Road		Coin of Constantinus Magnus.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 547.
Hayfield Road	?	Human skeleton extended.	B. B. O. iv, 26.
	ROM.	Coins.	B. B. O. iv, 26.
Park Crescent		Skulls and pottery, 1864.	Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 11; A. O. 52, 111; Oxf. Ind. Nos. 11, 11*, 59; O. M. C. No. 33.
St. John's Road		Quern, 1871.	Ash. Mus. 1871, 77; O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 4; Oxf. Ind. Nos. 12, 24.
Leckford Road	?	Skeleton.	A. O. 52.
Woodstock Road	ROM.	Coins.	S. O. Bullingdon Hund. 3; Oxf. Ind. No. 13.
Near St. Giles's Church		Hand-made vase, 1869.	Ash. Mus. 1869, 15; Oxf. Ind. No. 14.
Little Clarendon Street		Coin.	Ash. Mus. 1890, 658; Oxf. Ind. No. 15.
Walton Street		Coin.	Ash. Mus.; Oxf. Ind. No. 16.
University Museum		Urn, bronze fibula, coins.	Ash. Mus. 1885, 136; Oxf. Ind. Nos. 17–20*.
The Parks		Coins.	He. C. ii, 282.
		Bronze spur and fibulae.	Ash. Mus. 1885, 136; 1886, 583–4; O. M. C. No. 31.
		Pot.	Ash. Mus.; Oxf. Ind. No. 60.
South Park Road		Quern and pot, 1871.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 1651; Oxf. Ind. No. 21; O. A. H. S. iii. 5.
Cripley Allotments		Coin.	Oxf. Ind. No. 58.
Mansfield College		Two pots.	Ash. Mus. 1887, 2803–4; Oxf. Ind. Nos. 22–3; A. O. 109; O. M. C. Nos. 35–6.
Carfax		Coin of Augustus, 1712.	He. C. iii, 316.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Oxford (*cont.*)			
Martyrs' Memorial	ROM.	Gold coin.	Oxf. Ind. No. 26.
George Street	? ROM.	Patera and quern, 1879.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 1701, 1711.
Gloucester Green	? ROM.	Clay figurine, 1841.	Buck. Cat. p. 3.
Beaumont Street	ROM.	Coin of Constantine, 1713.	He. C. iv, 350.
High Street, St. Thomas		Coin.	Oxf. Ind. No. 36.
St. Aldate's		Coin.	Ash. Mus. 1895, 127.
Oxford Castle	? ROM.	Horseshoes.	Oxf. Ind. No. 37; A. J. xxxiv, 464.
Osney	ROM.	Coins.	He. C. iii, 314, 401; A. O. 50; B. B. O. iv, 26; Oxf. Ind. No. 35; Ash. Mus. 1892, 2.
Littlegate		Bronze fibula.	Ash. Mus. 1869, 6.
Christ Church	?	Quern.	Oxf. Ind. No. 56.
New Inn Hall St.	ROM.	Pot, 1870.	Ash. Mus.; Oxf. Ind. No. 30; O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 4.
Broad Street		Coin.	Ash. Mus.; Oxf. Ind. No. 32.
High Street		Coins.	Oxf. Ind. Nos. 41 and 65; Ash. Mus.; B. B. O. iv, 26.
St. Ebbe's		Denarius of Tiberius; bronze coin of Nero, 1896.	Ash. Mus. 1893, 118: B. B. O. iv, 26.
Cat Street		Coin.	B. B. O. iv, 26.
Cowley Road		Pottery, 1904.	Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, R. 279;
		Coins, Leopold Street, 1895.	O. M. C. No. 32.
St. Giles's Fields	POST-R.	Gold bracteate.	Plot 359; Ash. Mus.; A. lxii, 491, fig. 6.
Summertown		Brooch, beads, knife, and spear-head. 1850, etc.	O. A. H. S. n. s. ii, 15; Ash. Mus. 1836-68, 17; 1883, 197: O. M. C. Nos. 41–2.
Magdalen Bridge		Inlaid stirrups, horseshoe, shears, spear-head, shield boss, spur; bones of men and horses, 1884.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 443–7; O. M. C. Nos. 43–4.
R. Thames, Folly Bridge		Iron spear-head.	Manning MSS.
Park Crescent		Anglo-Saxon shield-boss, etc., 1865.	Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 10; O. M. C. No. 40.
R. Thames, near N. Hinksey		Bone draughtsman; iron spears.	B. B. O. iv, 24–5; O. M. C. Nos. 45 and 48.
Osney		Urn.	O. M. C. No. 39.
St. Aldate's		Gold interlaced ring in stone coffin, *c.* 1890.	P. S. A. 2 s. xix, 21.
Butcher Row		Gold interlaced ring.	O. T. 25 May 1907.
Carfax		Silver coins of Aethelstan II and Edweard the Elder.	Ash. Mus. Rep. 1896, p. 9.
Binsey		Sceatta.	Ash. Mus.
Norham Manor		Bronze key, 1869.	Ash. Mus. 1869, 172; O. M. C. No. 45.
Queen Street		Iron spur, *c.* 1850.	Ash. Mus.; O. M. C. No. 46.
Oxfordshire	PRE-R.	Flint flakes.	J. A. I. xiii, 137.
		Bronze flanged celt.	B. Mus.; R. 1866, 24 July, No. 38.
		Bronze palstave.	B. Mus.; R. 1875, 1 April, No. 14 (Sparrow Simpson Coll.).

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Oxfordshire (*cont.*)	PRE-R.	British gold and silver coins 'near Oxford'.	A. B. C. 61, 434 pl. B 6; 104; suppl. 438.
		Gold coins of Cunobeline 'near Oxford'.	A. B. C. 303–4, pl. ix, 12–13; 368; suppl. 558 (acc. to Burstal Sale 1912, Lot 21, found near Abingdon, 1885).
		Bronze statuettes and figurines.	B. Mus. 1883, 8 Feb., Nos. 11–13.
		Gold coins of Dubnovellaunus and Addedomaros 'found at Thackway' (? error for Trackway = Icknield Way).	W. R. Davies Sale 1893, Lot 30.
	ROM.	Coins.	B. B. O. iv, 46–7.
	? ROM.	Bronze Stamp ELEPA'.	A. J. xxii, 69.
		Road from Alchester to Dorchester.	Plot 324, 326; I. C. i, 41; Hus.
?	POST-R.	Three Anglo-Saxon saucer-brooches.	P. S. A. 1 s. ii, 101.
		Anglo-Saxon urns 'near Oxford'.	B. Mus. 1868, 9 July, Nos. 77–8.
?		Enamelled bronze disc 'near Oxford'.	P. S. A. 2 s. xxii, 68.
?		Coloured glass roundel.	A. J. iii, 354, fig.; B. A. A. xvii, 62.
Piddington	Ⓔ	Rectangular entrenchment, 'The Wilderness', on Muswell Hill.	Blom. i, 12; V. C. H. ii, 319.
Ploughley (*see* Fritwell)			
Preston Crowmarsh (*see* Benson)			
Pyrton	Ⓔ	Barrow, 'Mount Tree' near Slay Barn, now destroyed.	O. S. old.
Radcot (*see* R. Thames)			
Ramsden	Ⓔ	Round barrow, E. of Gospel Oak, (nearly destroyed).	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 346.
	ROM.	Coins, Ramsden Heath.	B. B. O. iv, 26.
Rotherfield Peppard	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic or neolithic flint-implement 'factory'.	A. J. lxx, 33.
		Palaeolithic implement.	Read. Mus.
	? ROM.	Two 'Roman' urns, Blount's Court, 1675.	Plot 163–4; C. M. B. iv, 435.
		Neolithic polished flint celt.	Kidmore End School.
		Neolithic chipped flint celt, Wyfold.	Read. Mus.
Rousham	PRE-R.	Circular pits, pottery and bones.	Rous. 11; Dryden MSS.; Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Coins.	Rous. 11.
Rollrich Stones (*see* Little Rollright)			
Rycote (*see* Great Haseley)			
Sandford-on-Thames (*see* R. Thames)	ROM.	Kilns, pottery, coins, etc., Minchery Farm.	Rol. ii, 937; O. A. H. S. iii, 354; Ash. Mus. 1886, 1530 ff.; 1920, 74; Haverfield MSS.
Sarsden (*see also* Churchill)	Ⓔ	Round barrow, 'The Squire's Clump', S. of road from Churchill.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 346.
		Round barrow, W. of 'Skew Wood'.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 346.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Sarsden (*cont.*)	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-heads, scrapers, cores, fragment of discoidal knife, S. of Sarsgrove Wood.	A. S. I. 390; Manning MSS.
Shenington	Ⓔ	Shen-*low* Hill.	O. S.
Shifford	?	Standing stone, 'Cynelaf's stone'.	Cart. Eyns. i, 23; ii, 5; Williams 31.
Shiplake (*see* R. Thames)	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implements.	A. S. I. 592; Q. J. G. S. xlvi, 584; xlix, 310; Man x (1904), 18.
Shipton-on-Cherwell	Ⓔ	Long barrow? 'langan hlaew' destroyed.	Cart. Eyns. i, 23.
	POST-R.	Part of clay ring at Bunker's Hill.	Manning Coll.; Ash. Mus. 1921–91.
Shipton-under-Wychwood	Ⓔ	Round barrow, 'Kenner's Barrow or 'Shipton Barrow'.	O. S.; Plot 333–4; He. C. iii, 402; C. M. B. iv, 212; A. xxxvii, 433; V. C. H. ii, 346.
Shirburn	ROM.	Hoard of coins in pot, 1775.	I. C. i, 44.
Shotover (*see* Headington)	PRE-R.	Polished stone celt.	G. O. T. 478, diag. ccvii.
		Flint scrapers, cores, etc.	B. B. O. iv, 27; O. U. G. xliii, 965.
	Ⓔ	Barrow on Shotover Hill (destroyed).	Plot 343; Kid. 56.
	PRE-R.	British gold coin, Moors Farm.	A. M. Bell Coll.; Manning MSS.
	ROM.	Hoard of coins, 'Thorn Hill Lane', 1842.	A. J. iii, 125; Manning MSS.
		Pottery, coins, etc.	B. B. O. iv, 27–8; Manning MSS.; B. A. A. xii, 177; O. A. H. S. vi, 158; N. C. vii, 43.
Sibford Gower		Barrows near trackway from Rollright to Ratley.	Old O. S.; B. Ban. 14–15.
Signet (*see* Burford)			
Souldern	Ⓔ	Barrow.	I. C. i, 43.
	ROM.	Tesserae, bronze statuette, coins.	Soul. 8; A. J. iii, 354; N. O. A. Trs. 1887, 3.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials.	N. O. A. Trs. 1887, 3; St. A. 72; Blom. i, 21; A. J. iii, 353.
South Leigh	ROM.	Leaden coffins, Tar Farm.	B. B. O. iv, 39.
		Coins.	Manning Coll.
South Stoke	PRE-R.	Neolithic celt at Woodcote.	Mr. H. Adams (inf. Mr. T. W. Colyer).
		Flint scrapers, cores, at Woodcote, etc.	Manning MSS.; O. U. G. xliii, 964.
	ROM.	Coins of Valerianus and Gallienus.	H. W. i, 142.
Spelsbury	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-heads and scrapers near Devil's Pool, Ditchley.	Pitt-Rivers; J. E. S. n.s. i, 4–8.
		Flint implements near Ditchley.	J. A. I. v, 30.
	Ⓔ	Two round barrows, Lower Disslings, E. of Spelsbury Down Farm.	O. S.; Ens. 29; V. C. H. ii, 346; Rol. MS.
		Small square earthwork near High Wood.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 319, fig.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Spelsbury (*cont.*)	PRE-R.	Standing stone at Taston.	Ens. 9; Manning MSS.
		Standing stone, 'Hawkstone', at Dean.	O. S.; N. O. A. Trs. 1899, 49; B. Ban. 8.
	Ⓔ	Large rectangular camp, W. of Ditchley Park, on Grim's Ditch (destroyed).	O. S. 1834.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon spear-head and knife.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 119.
Stadhampton	PRE-R.	Cinerary urn.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 199.
Standlake		Polished stone celt.	A. S. I. 125; Ash. Mus. 1895, 67.
		Bronze looped spear-head.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 137.
		Burial circles, cinerary urns, food-vessel, spiral bronze ring, flint arrow-head; contracted skeletons, Standlake Down, 1857.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 71, 100, 213, 215, 217–19; A. xxxvii, 363, pl. viii–ix; Ash. Mus. N. C. 206, 328 a–h, 359; A. S. I. 389, 398; O. A. H. S. n. s. i, 108; F. L. vi, 17; B. A. P. ii, 115, pl. lxiii, 22, lxiv, 30; B. Mus. 1862.
		Pit-dwellings, Late Celtic (?) iron knife; implements of bone and antler, bronze ornament, 1857.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 70, 92–100; 215–17; Ash. Mus. 1836–68, pp. 15–16; id., N. C. 328, 467; O. A. H. S. n. s. i, 108–10; B. Mus. A. G. 1858, 5 Mar., No. 1.
	PRE-R.	Gold coin **BODVOC**, Standlake Common, 1849.	Ash. Soc. 29 Oct. 1849; G. M. 1849, 629; Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 12; A. B. C. 135.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burial with knife near Cokethorpe Park.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 217.
		Anglo-Saxon burials, brooches, beads, etc., Standlake Down.	Manning MSS.; B. B. O. iv, 40; A. lxiii, 192, pl. xxviii, 7.
Stanton Harcourt (*see* R. Thames)	PRE-R.	Remains of megalithic circle, 'Devil's Quoits'.	Plot 334, 350; C. M. B. iv, 212 and 381; G. C. i, 294; Aubrey 67; A. xxxvii, 43; Kid. 55.
	Ⓔ	Barrow, now destroyed.	Plot 333–4, 350; He. C. iii, 403; G. C. i, 294; Aubrey 67.
	PRE-R. or POST-R.	Pit-dwellings.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 215; Manning MSS.
	PRE-R.	Bronze palstaves.	A. B. I. 88, fig. 75.
		Cinerary urn, Cowling's Piece, 1874.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 1450; B. A. P. ii, 115, pl. lxvi, 61.
	ROM.	Bronze fibula, Barrow field.	Manning MSS.
Stanton St. John	ROM.	Hoard of coins in 'Stockherst Wood', *c.* 1647.	W. L. T. i, 266.
Steeple Aston	ROM.	Tessellated pavement and bath near Hopcroft's Holt, *c.* 1658.	W. L. T. i, 264; Plot 335; C. M. B. iv, 212 and 381; N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 113; B. Ban. 45; Rous. 11.
	?	Human skeletons, E. of Hopcroft's Holt, *c.* 1870.	Manning MSS.
		Denarius of Julianus II near Church.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 116.
Steeple Barton	? Ⓔ	Whist-*low*, N. of Barton Abbey.	O. S.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Steeple Barton (*cont.*)	PRE-R.	Ruined cromlech, 'Hoar Stone'.	St. A. 2; A. J. vi, 290.
	? ROM.	Gold ring.	A. J. vi, 289, fig.
	ROM.	Coins, under Church.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 113.
Stoke Lyne	Ⓔ	Round barrow, 'Round Hill'.	O. S.; Blom. i, 20; V. C. H. ii, 347.
		Earthwork, Baynard's Green (now destroyed).	K. 683.
Stokenchurch	Ⓔ	Two barrows, N. of village (now destroyed).	B. B. O. iv, 40.
	? PRE-R.	Cinerary urns near the Windmill, 1738.	B. B. O. iv, 40–1.
Stoke Row	ROM.	Pottery and coin.	O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 4.
Stonesfield	Ⓔ	Barrow (?), Callow Hill.	He. C. iii, 403.
	PRE-R.	Flint arrows, etc., S. of Kingswood Brake and Callow Hill.	Manning MSS.; O. U. G. xli, 958; xlvi, 550.
		Flint implements, Callow Hill.	J. E. S. n. s. i, 4; A. S. I. 281, 309, 376.
	ROM.	Square entrenchment; tiles and pottery.	Plot 343; He. C. iii, 403; J. E. S. n. s. i, 4–5; S. O. Wootton Hund. 9, 20; V. C. H. ii, 336.
		Pottery kilns.	B. A. A. xii, 177.
		Villa, tessellated pavements, excavated 1712, 1779, 1802.	He. C. iii, 319, 324, 326, 369, 384, 395, 400, 402–3, 408, 435; ix, 55; He. L. viii, p. vii; Poin. S.; M. S. A. i, 50, 133; xvii, 163; xviii, 11, 397; xix, 193; G. C. ii, 15; Kid. 66; Pit. i, frontispiece; S. O. Wootton Hund. 9, 20; N. L. S. 19; N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 118; A. xi, 37, xxxvii, 433; C. S. A. 12; coloured engravings by E. Lewington, 1780, and W. Fowler, 1803; O. A. H. S. n. s. ii, 348; Ash. Mus. 1836, p. 124, No. 79, p. 127, Nos. 186–8, 1836–68, p. 16.
Stow Wood	ROM.	Coins of Allectus, etc.	W. L. T. i, 463.
Stratton Audley.	Ⓔ	Irregular earthwork, W. of Oldfield's Copse.	O. S.; Blom. i, 7; V. C. H. ii, 334, fig.
	ROM.	Coins.	Plot 341; He. C. ii. 92; Blom. i, 18.
Studley (*see* Horton-cum-Studley)			
Summertown (*see* Oxford)			
Swalcliffe	Ⓔ	Madmarston Camp.	Plot 341; M. S. A. xvi, 398; G. C. ii, 14; Gale MSS. 289; B. Ban. 17–18, pl.; V. C. H. ii, 311–12, fig.
	Ⓔ	Round barrow, 'Rowbarrow', S. of Madmarston Camp; bones, burnt wood, 1854.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 55; Gale MSS. 285; V. C. H. ii, 347.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Swalcliffe (*cont.*)	PRE-R.	British gold, silver and copper coins.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 56, pl.; A. B. C. 61, 102, 433; Bor. 247, pl. xix, 24–5; B. Ban. 18–19, 607; G. C. i, pl. opp. p. cxiii, Nos. 56–7.
	ROM.	Coins, Blakelands.	Pl. 341; N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 56; B. Ban. 19, 607.
Swerford	ROM.	Coins.	Plot 341.
Swinbrook	Ⓔ	Round barrow, W. of Pain's Farm in detached part of Fulbrook No. 1.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 347.
	Ⓔ	Three round barrows, N. of South Lawn Cottage; human and animal remains, pottery, etc. (Taynton detach.).	O. S. old; O. S.; Rol. MSS.; V. C. H. ii, 347.
	ROM.	Coins, South Lawn barrows.	Rol. MSS.
		Skeletons and coins, Sturt Farm, Stonelands.	B. B. O. iv, 41.
Swyncombe	Ⓔ	Line of earthwork 'Danish entrenchment', Swyncombe Down.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 343.
Sydenham	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon shield boss.	S. O. Lewknor Hund. 2.
Tackley	PRE-R.	Neolithic celts, flint arrow-heads, scrapers, discoidal knife.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. U. G. xxxiv, 559; xxxv, 570; xxxvii, xli, 948; Manning MSS.
		Bronze palstave, Wood Farm.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. U. G. xxxv, 570.
	ROM.	Coins at Sturdy's Castle.	Manning Coll.
Tadmarton	Ⓔ	Circular entrenchment, Tadmarton Camp; with detached outwork.	Plot 342; C. M. B. iv, 391; B. Ban. 11; G. C. ii, 14; B. B. 18; Kid. 55; V. C. H. ii, 316, fig.
	Ⓔ	Two barrows, NW. of Camp, destroyed.	O. S.; B. Ban. 12; V. C. H. ii, 347.
	Ⓔ	Long bank, 'Camp', between Madmarston Camp and Broughton.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 334.
	PRE-R. and ROM.	Burials and coins at Blackland, near Madmarston Camp.	O. S.; B. Ban. 18–19, 607.
	ROM.	Coins at Tadmarston Camp.	Kid. 58; B. Ban. 12.
	? POST-R.	'Human remains and spearhead', Holywell Farm.	O. S.
Taynton (*see* Swinbrook)	ROM.	Coins.	Plot 341.
Thame	PRE-R.	Flint celt near Bate's Leys.	Th. 8.
		Gold coin of Andocomius.	A. B. C. suppl. 533; N. C. 3 s. iii, 3; E. K. Burstal Sale 1912, Lot 19.
		Gold coin, BODVOC, 'found near Thame'. [*See* Witney.]	E. K. Burstal Sale 1912, Lot 10; Bernard Roth Sale, 2nd pt., 1918, Lot 24, pl. i; Morning Post, 15 Oct. 1918.
	ROM.	Coins (gold coin of Honorius) and pottery.	Th. 3.
Tusmore	ROM.	Coins.	Plot 341.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Upper Heyford	? POST-R.	Burials, 'stirrup irons and pieces of armour' in 'The Leas', near Aves Ditch.	Manning MSS.
Warborough	? PRE-R.	Traces of settlement?, between Warborough and Overy.	P. S. A. 2 s. xviii, 14; Haverfield MSS.
	ROM.	Coin of Valens, Warborough Green, 1889.	T. H. Powell Coll.; Manning MSS.
	? ROM.	Stone coffin, Priests Moor, 1780.	O. S.
	POST-R.	? The mint of 'Weardbyrig'.	N. C. 3 s. xiii, 220.
Wardington	PRE-R.	Bronze looped palstave and lump of copper.	N. O. A. Trs. 1853–5, 17; pl. i, 3; ? 119 (*see* under Hook Norton).
Water Eaton	PRE-R.	Perforated quartzite 'mace-head'.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 233.
	PRE-R. and ROM.	Late Celtic bronze chape, fibula and surgical? implement.	B. Mus. 1880, 14 Dec., Nos. 12–13
	? PRE-R.	? Round barrow (? = Cutslow).	Personal observation.
Watlington	Ⓔ	Barrow? on Watlington Hill; two human skeletons and two horses.	J. Badcock, MS. History of Watlington f. 65 (Manning MSS.).
	Ⓔ ?	Houns-*low*, between Watcomb Manor and Cobditch Hill.	Old O. S.
	PRE-R.	Bronze socketed celt 'near Watlington', 1881.	Manning MSS.
		Gold coins of Epillus, Tincommius, Verica, Cunobeline and uninscribed.	Davies Sale 1893, Lots 26, 29, 32, 33–4 (acc. to information from T. H. Powell to P. Manning found near Watlington together? and not at Wallingford); Montague Sale 1895, Lots 52, 64; Bliss Sale 1916, Lots 20 and 23, pl. i; Read. Merc. 8 Feb. 1890; Manning MSS.
Wendlebury	Ⓔ	Line of earthwork, now destroyed.	K. 683.
	PRE-R.	Neolithic greenstone celt and sandstone ? slickstone.	A. S. I. 144, 442; B. A. A. xii, 177.
	ROM.	Stone cist.	Plot 337; I. C. i, 42; K. 692.
		Village or settlement at Alchester.	C. B. 267; K. 693; He. C. ii, 145, 147; I. C. i, 41–3 and Iter Boreale pl. v–vi; C. M. B. iv, 399; D. B. P. i, 269–70; ii, 174, pl.; M. S. A. x, 118; Kid. 58 n.; D. Bic. 187; Hus. 20; Blom. i, 8; N. O. A. Trs. 1857–8, 123; O. J. 1766, reprint 9 June 1896; A. O. 34; Ash. Mus. 1892, 264 ff.; B. A. A. vi, 154; xii, 177; Manning MSS.; Ant. xxv, 188.
		Denarius of L. Piso Frugi.	Haverfield MSS.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Weston-on-the-Green	Ⓔ	Barrow, Windmill Clump, N. of Village.	O. S.; Blom. i, 20.
Wheatley	Rom.	Villa, Castle Hill, 1845 (destroyed).	A. J. ii, 350; iii, 92; O. A. H. S. iii, 4; B. A. A. xi, 65; I. L. N. 1846, ii, 248; Tile in Norwich Mus.
	Post-R.	Anglo-Saxon cemetery.	Proc. Birmingham Phil. Soc. iv, pt. i, 179; P. S. A. 2 s. xxix, 48.
Whitchurch	Ⓔ	Earthwork, 'Binditch'.	Wh. 7, 9.
	Pre-R.	Neolithic implements.	Read. Mus. Cat. 14; Manning MSS.
	Post-R.	Anglo-Saxon burial.	Wh. 8.
		Hoard of coins, Edward the Confessor, etc.	N. C. 1902, p. 219; B. N. J. ii, 115–6.
Widford	Rom.	Villa, tessellated pavement in churchyard, 1905.	W. D. B. 3; Haverfield MSS.
Wigginton	Rom.	Villa.	S. O. Bloxham Hund. 9–10, 12; B. Ban. 41, pl. ix, 4, xi.
		Coins.	G. M. 1824, Oct., p. 359; MS. Top. Oxon. b, 80, pp. 204 ff. (Bodleian Library).
Wilcote	Pre-R.	Flint arrow-head.	Ash. Mus. 1921, 1415.
	? Rom.	Fragment of Greek inscription.	P. S. A. 2 s. xviii, 9, fig.
	Rom.	Pottery-kilns.	B. A. A. xii, 177.
		Coins, etc.	A. xxxvii, 433; B. B. O. iv, 42; He C. viii, 299.
Witney	Pre-R.	Perforated stone mace-head.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. U. G. xlix, 604.
	Pre-R.	Silver coin of Eppaticus 'near Witney'.	B. Roth Sale, 1st pt., 1917, Lot 23, Pl. 1.
		Gold coin, BODVOC. (*see* under Thame).	A. B. C. suppl. 487.
		Uninscribed British gold coin 'near Witney'.	Manning Coll. and MSS.
	Rom.	Coins.	He. C. ii, 219, 282.
	Post-R.	Bronze plated stirrup-iron.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 51.
	Ⓔ	Earthwork, 'Saxon Rampart', W. of town.	O. S.: V. C. H. ii, 333.
		? Moat, 'Emma's Dyke'.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 333.
Wolvercote	Pre-R.	Palaeolithic implements.	Ant. xxx, 148, 192; A. S. I. 593; O. A. H. Cat. 3; Brit. Assoc. Rep. 1894 (Oxford), p. 663; Q. J. G. S. lx, 120 ff.; Pitt-Rivers Mus.; Ash. Mus.
		Flint scrapers, cores, etc.	Manning MSS.
		Sling-bullet of baked clay.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 37; G. L. V. ii. 566.
	Rom.	Pottery.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 1633; B. B. O. iv, 42.
		Coins at Lower Wolvercote and Davenant Road.	Information from Rev. E. A. Sydenham.
	Post-R.	Double-ended bone implement, 1825.	Ash. Mus.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Wood Eaton (*see* Islip)	PRE-R.	Gold coin of Cunobeline, 1676, etc.	Plot 315, Pl. xv, 19–20; C. M. B. iv, 209 and 412; A. B. C. 98, 301, pl. ix, 10.
	ROM.	Smelting-works, pottery, fibulae, etc., Druns Hill.	Plot 337; C. M. B. iv, 400; Hus. 38–9; Kid. 65 n. O. A. H. S. n. s. iii, 174, 223; A. J. xiii, 179, fig.; N. C. vii, 43.
Woodperry	ROM.	Pottery, fibulae, coins, hypocausts, etc., 1845.	A. J. iii, 116–125, figs.; P. S. A. 1 s. i, 107; Ash. Mus. 1873, 2–15; G. L. V. i, 195.
	POST-R.	? Anglo-Saxon glass vessels, 1845.	Ash. Mus. 1873, 117–8.
Woodstock	PRE-R.	Neolithic chipped flint celt, Blenheim Park.	Mr. F. Kibble; Manning MSS. Adds.
	? ROM.	Road in Blenheim Park.	M. S. A. xvii, 66; P. S. A. 2 s. xvii, 333.
	? ROM.	Horseshoes.	Ash. Mus. N. C. 482–4.
	ROM.	Urn, Back Acre, 1810.	Mavor (10th ed.) 140.
		Coins from various sites.	O. J. 3 May 1755; Kid. 58 n.; He. C. iii, 236, 330; Mavor (6th ed.) 111; Ash. Mus. 1893, 206–12; Manning MSS.
Wootton	Ⓔ	Round barrow, 'Copping Knoll'.	O. S.; V. C. H. ii, 347.
	PRE-R.	Flint arrow-head, Starveall Farm.	Ash. Mus. 1912, 113.
	ROM.	Pottery and flue-pipe.	Ash. Mus. 1882, 1.
		Coins, E. of Milford Bridge.	B. B. O. iv, 43.
Wychwood (*see* Langley)	PRE-R.	Standing stone, 'Hoar Stone' (destroyed).	A. xxxvii, 430 ? Plot 351.
		Standing stone, 'Frethelstone' (destroyed).	A. xxxvii, 430.
	Ⓔ	Chambered long barrow, Slatepits Copse.	A. xxxvii, 431; N. O. A. Rep. 1857, 4; Dryden MSS.; V. C. H. ii, 344.
	Ⓔ	Long barrow, in 'South Lawn pollards' common, near Hensgrove Copse (destroyed).	Dryden MSS.
	Ⓔ	Barrows.	O. S. old; N. O. A. Rep. 1856–7, 14; 1857, 2.
	Ⓔ	Round barrow, E. of Waterman's Lodge.	O. S.
	Ⓔ	Two round barrows, NW. of High Lodge.	O. S
	Ⓔ	Square earthwork, Churchill Copse.	N. O. A. Rep. 1857, 4.
	PRE-R.	Fragment of neolithic celt, Churchill Copse.	N. O. A. Rep. 1857, 4.
		Antler haft, pottery, human remains, Cockshoot Hill.	A. S. I. 160; A. J. xiv, 82; xxi, 57, fig.
		Flint arrows, scrapers, Potter's Hill, N. of Fordwells.	Manning MSS.
	Ⓔ	Long barrow 'on N. side of Churchill plain' (destroyed).	Dryden MSS.; N. O. A. Rep. 1857, 4.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
Wychwood (*cont.*)	ROM.	Circular pits, pottery, bone pin, iron knife (?); animal remains, WSW. of Churchill Plain in Slatepits Copse.	Dryden MSS. (sketch).
	POST-R.	Iron spear-head, Fordwells, 1880.	Bristol Museum.
Yarnton	PRE-R.	Contracted burials, beakers, food-vessel, bronze torque and awl, flint scraper, etc.	Rol. ii, 943; Ash. Mus. 1886, 1453–6, 1687; B. A. P. i, 88, pl. ix, 77 and 79; i, 156, pl. xxix, 7; B. Mus. Greenwell Coll. 1784; A. B. I. 380, fig. 470; Dryden MSS.
		Fragments of large urns (? Bronze Age), 1872.	Ash. Mus.
		Burial circles with V-shaped trenches, pits, pottery, bone implements, 1854, 1875–7.	O. A. H. S. n. s. i, 111; Rol. ii, 942; Ash. Mus. 1886, 1449, 1684, 1686, 1689; Vaughan Thomas 31, 33; B. Mus. R. 1876, Aug. 2, No. 1; Dryden MSS.
	POST-R.	Anglo-Saxon burials, spear, umbo, knife, etc.	Rol. ii, 943; Ash. Mus. 1886, 1444; O. A. H. S. i, 114.
Yelford	POST-R.	Pits with animal bones, pottery, bone implements, etc.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 98, 214; Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 16.
		Anglo-Saxon cemetery.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 97, 213; Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 16.
R. Thames			
Long Wittenham	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implement.	G. O. T. 475–6, diag. cciii, 1.
Oxford	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implements.	A. S. I. 593; O. M. C. Nos. 2–6.
Mapledurham	PRE-R.	Palaeolithic implement, Mapledurham Lock, 1906.	Reading Mus.
		Neolithic quartzite hammer.	Reading Mus. Cat. 15.
		Neolithic flint celt, Mapledurham Lock, 1906.	Reading Mus. Cat. 15.
Benson	PRE-R.	Neolithic circular flint knife and hammer-stone, Benson Lock.	Ash. Mus. 1918, 24–5.
		Polished greenstone celt.	Read. Mus.
		Neolithic celt near Benson Weir, 1912.	Ash. Mus. 1917, 9.
		Neolithic celts, 1910 and 1911	Ash. Mus. 1917, 10, 11.
		Flint flakes and (?) arrow-head.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 522.
Caversham		Palaeolithic implements.	Information from Mr. T. Colyer.
	PRE-R.	Pile dwellings (?), flint celts and animal bones, Clappers Island, 1882.	B. A. A. xxxix, 344, figs. 1–2; Read. Mus.
Clifton Hampden	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint celt, 1906.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; Manning MSS.; O.U.G. 22 May 1907.
Long Wittenham	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint and greenstone celts near Wittenham.	G. O. T. 476, diag. cciv, 4; 477, diag. ccvi.
	PRE-R.	Discoidal flint knife.	A. S. I. 337; Pitt-Rivers Mus.
Mongewell	PRE-R.	Two neolithic bowls, 1892.	G. W. Smith Coll.
Nuneham Courtenay	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint celt.	Ash. Mus. 1889, 46.

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
R. Thames (*cont.*)			
Oxford	PRE-R.	Neolithic diorite axe-head, Folly Bridge, 1876.	Ash. Mus. 1886, 1231; Oxf. Ind. No. 53; O. M. C. No. 9.
		Flint blade, Osney.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. U. G. xliii, 984.
		Flint flake near N. Hinksey, 1905.	Manning Coll.; O. M. C. No. 13.
		Neolithic stone celt, Hinksey Stream.	Pitt-Rivers Mus.; O. U. G. xlv, 658
Radcot	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint axe-head, Radcot Bridge.	Manning MSS.
Shiplake	PRE-R.	Neolithic flint chisel.	P. S. A. 2 s. vi, 458; Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, Pr. 48.
Abingdon	PRE-R.	Bronze dagger.	V. C. H. Berks. i, 194.
Benson	PRE-R.	Bronze sword at Benson Ferry.	P. S. A. 2 s. xxiii, 160; Ash. Mus. 1914, 735.
Caversham	PRE-R.	Bronze flanged celt, Caversham Lock.	P. S. A. 2 s. vi, 458: H. W. i, 148.
Dorchester	PRE-R.	Bronze chape and buckler near Day's Lock.	O. S.; P. S. A. 1 s. iii, 166; A. B. I. 303 fig. 366 and 343, fig. 428; A. xxvii, 298; B. Mus. 20 June 1837, No. 1; V. C. H. Berks. i, 184.
Eynsham	PRE-R.	Bronze buckler at Swinford Bridge.	M. S. A. xxx, 191, 207; xxxi, 164; C. S. A. 17; P. S. A. 2 s. xxxi, 150; H. F. 167, pl. xi, 3; A. B. 1, 345.
Little? Wittenham (*see* Dorchester)	PRE-R.	Bronze looped spear-head.	Manning Coll.
Long Wittenham	PRE-R.	Bronze flat celt, 1883.	Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, Pr. 371; Manning MSS.
Moulsford	PRE-R.	Bronze barbed socketed spear-head.	Read. Mus. Cat. 32; V. C. H. Berks. i, 181.
Oxford	PRE-R.	Bronze socketed celt.	Ash. Mus. 1893, 229; Oxf. Ind. No. 50; O. M. C. No. 15.
		Bronze socketed celt, looped lance-head and part of spear-head near N. Hinksey, 1895–8.	Manning Coll.; B. B. O. iv, 24; O. M. C. No. 18.
Reading	PRE-R.	Bronze looped and socketed celt.	V. C. H. Berks. i, pl. facing 182, fig. 6.
		Bronze looped spear-head.	Read. Mus. Cat. 32; V. C. H. Berks. i, pl. facing 184, fig. 1.
		Bronze socketed celt.	Read. Mus.
		Bronze socketed spear-head.	Read. Mus. Cat. 32; V. C. H. Berks. i, pl. facing 184, fig. 6.
		Bronze rapier-dagger.	Read. Mus. Cat. 32.
		Bronze sickle.	Read. Mus. Cat. 32; V. C. H. Berks. i, 182.
		Bronze sword.	V. C. H. Berks. i, 181, pl. facing 186; B. Mus. (Greenwell Coll.).

Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
R. Thames (*cont.*)			
Sandford-on-Thames		Bronze sword and rapier (s?).	A. B. I. 248, 284; A. J. xxxiv, 301; B. Mus. (Greenwell Coll. 1253).
		Bronze rapier and socketed spear-head from Sandford Lock, *c.* 1845.	Ash. Mus. 1885, 508–9.
Sonning	PRE-R.	Neolithic? chipped flint implement from Sonning Lock.	Thames Conservancy Office.
Streatley	PRE-R.	Two Bronze Age urns.	V. C. H. Berks. i, 195.
Sutton Courtenay	PRE-R.	Bronze looped and socketed celt 'near Sutton Bridge', 1862.	B. Mus. R. 1862, 19 July, No. 9.
Tilehurst	PRE-R.	Bronze dagger.	V. C. H. Berks. i, 195.
Wallingford	PRE-R.	Bronze socketed spear-head.	P. S. A. 2 s. iv, 280; vi, 458; A. B. I. 321; B. B. O. ii, 106; Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, Pr. 374.
		Bronze looped and socketed celt and two socketed knives.	P. S. A. 1 s. iv, 303; A. B. I. 206; Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, Pr. 372–3; (?) H. W. i, 148.
		Bronze sword, 1868.	H. W. i, 148.
		Hoard of bronze implements.	A. B. I. 128, 167, 206, 219, 457, figs. 150, 193, 269; V. C. H. Berks. i, 183.
		Bronze dagger with midrib and fluting, *c.* 1862.	Manning MSS. (W. R. Davies Coll.).
Dorchester	? PRE-R.	Bundle of six socketed iron spear-heads near junction of Thames and Thame, 1843.	Ash. Mus. 1836–68, p. 6.
Goring	PRE-R.	Bronze axle-cap (?).	B. Mus. R. 1889, 4 Dec., No. 2.
Oxford	PRE-R.	Late Celtic dagger-sheath, spear-heads, etc., 1895.	A. liv, 497, figs.; B. B. O. iv, 24; O. M. C. Nos. 25–6.
Reading	? PRE-R.	Iron spear-head.	G. W. Smith Coll.; Manning MSS.
Standlake	PRE-R.	Late Celtic sword with scabbard-mounts.	Private Coll.
Stanton Harcourt	? PRE-R.	Iron ferrule of spear.	B. Mus.
Appleton	ROM.	Vase of grey Upchurch ware.	B. Mus. R. 1893, Sept. 4, No. 9; V. C. H. Berks. i, 202.
Benson	ROM.	Neck of bottle-vase of brown-slip ware.	Ash. Mus. 1917, 31.
Buckland	ROM.	Bronze armlet with coiled ends.	P. S. A. 2 s. v, 474; B. Mus.; V. C. H. Berks. i, 205.
Mapledurham	ROM.	Romano-British pot and perforated ball of baked clay.	Read. Mus.
Northmoor (*see* Appleton)	ROM.	Coins of Nero and Constantine, 1895.	B. B. O. iv, 23.
Reading	ROM.	Vase and clay ring.	Read. Mus. Cat. 42.
Wallingford	? ROM.	Eagle-standard (?) and spears.	H. W. i, 147.
Whitchurch	ROM.	34 Second brass coins, Antonia to Marcus Aurelius, from Whitchurch Weir Pool.	Thames Conservancy Office.
Benson	POST-R.	Iron 'seax', axe-head and spear.	Ash. Mus. 1911, 507, 509, 510.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP OF OXFORDSHIRE

SCALE 4 MILES TO AN INCH

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

POST-ROMAN

× ..... Weapons

● ..... Burial

× ..... Coins &c.

EXPLANATION OF OROGRAPHICAL COLOURING

above 800 feet

600 to 800 feet

400 to 600 feet

200 to 400 feet

100 to 200 feet

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Locality.		Nature of Discovery.	Where Recorded.
R. Thames (*cont.*)			
Brighthampton	POST-R.	Iron stirrup with twisted loop.	Ash. Mus. 1887, 3010.
Long Wittenham	POST-R.	Wooden comb with handle.	P. S. A. 2 s. vi, 458; Ash. Mus. 1896–1908, Pr. 458.
Longworth	POST-R.	Iron spear-head.	Ash. Mus. 1914, 4.
Northmoor	POST-R.	Iron spear-head.	B. B. O. iv, 23; Manning MSS.
Oxford	POST-R.	Iron spear-head, Folly Bridge.	Manning MSS.
		Iron spear-heads and bone draughtsman.	Manning Coll.; B. B. O. iv, 24–5; O. M. C. Nos. 45 and 48.
Pangbourne	POST-R.	Iron axe, spear-heads, etc.	C. A. ii, 224; V. C. H. Berks. i, 246.
Shifford	POST-R.	Iron spear-heads, 'seax' and prick-spur.	Ash. Mus. 1914, 83–4, 454–7.
Stanton Harcourt	POST-R.	Iron axe-head.	B. Mus. R. 1891, 9 May, No. 8.
Wallingford	POST-R.	Iron sword-hilt inlaid with silver and niello.	A. l, 534; Ant. n. s. vi, 348; V. C. H. Berks. i, 243, fig.
		Iron axes and spear-heads.	J. K. Hedges Coll.; Manning MSS.

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